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The 'maid phenomenon':

home/school differences in pedagogy and their implications for children in two international schools in the Middle East

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THE 'MAID PHENOMENON': HOME/SCHOOL DIFFERENCES IN
PEDAGOGY AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILDREN IN TWO
INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Gail Bradley

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Education

University of Bath
Department of Education
August 2010

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DECLARATION OF AUTHENTICITY OF THE THESIS

I hereby declare that this thesis, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education, contains no material previously published or written in any medium by another person, except where appropriate reference has been made.

.....

Gail Bradley

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ABSTRACT

A ‘new’ phenomenon in the form of employing foreign domestic workers (FDW), or maids, whose jobs often include caring for children, appears to be an increasing global trend. Consequently, migrant women from developing countries provide an inexpensive and accessible child care alternative, which could be regarded as widespread in certain regions.

Growth in the movement of population and mounting global interdependence, has also contributed to an increase in educational institutions labelled international schools. As an educator in five of these diverse institutions, I became aware that the trend of hiring maids, who because of their social position often do many basic tasks for children in their care, has entered the world of international schools in particular geographical areas. This has often concerned professionals.

This small-scale study, therefore, explores the perceived social and educational implications of home/school differences in pedagogic orientation in children who have maids, bringing to light a matter of consequence, to certain international schools in particular, in more academic terms.

Two very different schools in the Arabian Gulf, both regarded as operating in an international context, were the focus for this study. Drawing on Vygotskian and post-Vygotskian theories, I used sociocultural theory and Engeström’s model of activity theory as a theoretical framework from which to design the inquiry, and carry out the analysis.

Using the two sample schools to access key-stakeholders, this inquiry involved multi-methods of mainly qualitative data collection, which explored a situation where maids are often heavily involved in children’s upbringing. A range of nationalities were included.

Important messages emerged, including the notion of maids appearing to be culturally embedded amongst a number of affluent host country nationals and expatriates in my context. Additionally, significant differences appear to exist between children with maids at home and those without, with implications for learning amongst ‘maid children’, which might be perceived as a result of maid intervention.

The thesis concludes with recommendations for educationalists and parents. Views of most key stakeholders underpin a model which could guide new practice and go some way towards alleviating the consequences of such a situation.

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ABBREVIATIONS and GLOSSARY of TERMS:

Abbreviations

+M - Children with maids at home

-M - Children without maids at home

AT – Activity Theory

BEd – Bachelor of Education

CEIC - Centre for the study of Education in an International Context

CIS - Council of International Schools

DCSF – Department for Children, Schools and Families

FDW – Foreign Domestic Worker

FS2 – Foundation Stage 2

HSKE - Home School Knowledge Exchange

IB - International Baccalaureate organization

IB Diploma – International Baccalaureate Diploma

IBMYP - International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme

IBPYP - International Baccalaureate Primary Years Programme

IPC - International Primary Curriculum

KHDA – Knowledge and Human Development Authority

KS1 – Key Stage 1

KS2 – Key Stage 2

MTS – Maternal Teaching Strategies

S1 – School 1

S2 – School 2

SPSS – Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

TCK – Third Culture Kids

TMP - The Maid Phenomenon

TMS – The Maid Syndrome

UAE – United Arab Emirates

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Fund

ZPD - Zone of Proximal Development

Glossary of Terms

Arabian Gulf – This includes the countries of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

Bahasa Malay – The language spoken by people from the Malay Peninsula.

Behaviourist Theory – This theory stems from a belief that certain scientific principles tested on animals can explain how learning occurs in humans. Intelligence is viewed as fixed, the child is considered as a passive and unformed adult, learning is routine, knowledge is static, and teaching is seen as a mere transmission of knowledge with ‘teacher as expert’.

Centre for the study of Education in an International Context – This Centre is based in the University of Bath, UK. It promotes international education through various channels, including research and post-graduate study programmes.

Constructivist Theory – This theory perceives children as individuals who develop at different rates and have an innate ability to learn; the child is regarded as the source of his/her own learning. Learning is active rather than passive and the teacher is seen as a guide, pinpointing learning readiness and setting up suitable experiences.

Council of International Schools – An international organization which offers an accreditation process, development of best practice, teacher recruitment and leadership and governance services for international schools.

English National Curriculum – Curriculum taught in England.

Expatriate – In this thesis, it refers to a native of a country other than an Arabian Gulf country – e.g. Jordanian, Scottish.

Foundation Stage 2 – A term used for the school level which caters for children who are 4 to 5 years old.

Fulbright Programme - The Fulbright Programme is a prestigious USA Government awards programme for international educational exchange for scholars, educators, graduate students and professionals. It operates in approximately 155 countries and provides funds for participants to undertake graduate study, advanced research, university teaching, and teaching overseas. More Fulbright alumni have won Nobel Prizes than those of any other academic programme (Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) 2009).

Gulf National – A native of the Arabian Gulf.

Hindi - One of the official languages of India.

Host Country – In this thesis, it refers to the country which hosts a particular international school.

International Baccalaureate – An organization founded in Switzerland and regarded as leading the field in international education. It offers three programmes of international education to schools throughout the world.

International Baccalaureate Programmes – Three programmes which are considered challenging and which relate to international education:

- *Primary Years Programme (PYP)* – for children three to 12 years old with a focus on developing the whole child both inside and outside the school.
- *Middle Years Programme (MYP)* – for 11 to 16 year old pupils; this programme uses a framework of life skills and promotes academic challenge.
- *The Diploma Programme* – for students age 16 to 19 years; this curriculum leads to a qualification accepted by world renowned universities and is particularly aimed at highly motivated students (IBO 2009a).

International Baccalaureate World School - IB World Schools are a community of state, private, national and international schools from all over the world. They *share a common bond - a commitment to high-quality, challenging, international education* (IBO 2009b) and they offer one (or more) of the International Baccalaureate programmes.

Key Stage 1 – A term used in some schools for Years 1-2; children are 5 to 7 years old.

Key Stage 2 – A term used in some schools for Years 3-6; children are 7 to 11 years old.

Knowledge and Human Development Authority – An education authority created to improve schools in Dubai.

Local – Refers to a native of the Arabian Gulf.

Maids – In this thesis, it refers to female hired help.

Male carer – In this thesis, it refers to male hired help doing the same or similar job as a maid.

Middle East – In this thesis, it includes the Arabian Gulf countries and also Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria.

Tagalog - One of the major languages of the Republic of the Philippines.

Tamil - A language spoken predominantly by the Tamil community from the Indian subcontinent.

Third Culture Kids – A child who spends *a significant part of his or her developmental years outside their parents' culture* (TCKID 2010). For example, an expatriate child from Ireland living in Singapore would integrate elements of its first culture (original country) with a second culture (new country) thus creating a third culture. TCKs consequently create and share this third culture with similar 'others' and it is in this culture where they often feel most comfortable. TCKs are sometimes called Global Nomads.

Western - In this thesis it refers to North American/European/Australian/New Zealander/South African.

Year 5 – Year group in a school, catering for children who are 9 to 10 years old.

INTRODUCTION

Background and Rationale for the Study

Two memorable instances spring to mind:

An Arabic child had undergone a full psychological assessment after being referred by a class teacher because she was underachieving; the psychologist's report suggested that there was no underlying specific learning difficulty as such, but instead, the child was '...lacking in motivation or will to do anything for herself... .' While the head teacher discussed this with the parents, the child waited outside with a maid who was seen tilting the child's head and pouring a carton of juice into her mouth. She was seven years old.

On another occasion, four European boys aged five years old were unable to peel half a banana for a cooking activity; they told me that their maids do this for them.

These are but two of the many illustrations of maid dependence that I have witnessed in *international schools*¹.

Various positions as a teacher and administrator in five very diverse, international schools on two different continents, have made me aware that in certain geographical areas in this international context, some families often follow an increasing, global trend of employing female, foreign domestic workers (FDW) or maids (Lutz 2002), as they are commonly known. Arguably, these maids are often regarded as an inexpensive and accessible child care alternative (Lutz 2002), and in many cases act as the child's main carer (Langford et al. 2002; Schaetti 2002, p.111), and perform traditional maternal duties, particularly in affluent areas such as the Arabian Gulf (al-Najjar 2001; Roumani 2005).

Hired help has long been the norm in bourgeois society (Lutz 2002). Young girls, for example, would sometimes work for wealthy families in the same country in order to bridge the gap between leaving school and marrying (Lutz 2002). However, in today's world, domestic workers from developing countries leave their own families behind, frequently travelling thousands of miles overseas for financial reasons (Lutz 2002; Sassen 2002). Throughout the world, this trend is increasing (al-Najjar 2001; Lutz 2002; Tronto 2002; Zarembka 2002; Colombo 2007). It is viewed as a 'new' global phenomenon (Lutz 2002) and generally a consequence of women returning to work for financial reasons or developing professional careers (Lutz 2002; Tronto 2002; Spyros 2009). Globally, maids range from those hailing from small villages without electricity – *with no idea of how to switch on a light* (al-Najjar 2001) to qualified doctor status in Europe (Lutz 2002), for instance.

While background and specifics relating to maids, particularly in the context of this study, are discussed in detail in Chapter 2, for clarification, I use the term 'maid' not

¹ This term is discussed in the first chapter.

as a trained nanny or au pair, but as it is generally used in the geographical context of this study: to describe a female, foreign domestic worker who for the most part is untrained and often poorly educated (al-Najjar 2001; Roumani 2005)². Although often hired for domestic work, these women frequently find themselves in the position of being the main carer or playing a major role in caring for the children of the family (Yeoh et al. 1999; al-Najjar 2001; Roumani 2005). According to Lutz (2002) this is one of the factors that make the use of hired help a 'new' phenomenon.

This phenomenon of children having maids and hired help, who do everything including sometimes feeding them, was a complete revelation to me when I started teaching in the fee-paying, international context. I had never witnessed it in Wales, but I have frequently observed this practice in certain geographical areas in schools overseas. I thus questioned whether or not affluence and the availability of cheap labour are facilitating factors. Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001, p.19) reveals that hired domestic help has particularly *expanded... in many post industrial societies... 'the newly industrialized countries'... and in the oil rich nations*. Hired help may be on the increase in developed countries in general, but it could be argued that the increase is not as great as it appears to be amongst families of students who find themselves in affluent circumstances. The geographical area of this study would fit into such a category.

The reality of some international school parents who have the financial opportunity to lead elitist and luxurious life-styles could be regarded as allowing many families to hire a posse of helpers in the form of drivers, tutors, maids and cooks. Langford et al. (2002, p.48) hold the opinion that many international school students indeed hail from the host-country, economic elite, with Hayden (2006, p.42) referring to a transnational elite as far as mobile families are concerned. The Arabian Gulf is an exceptionally interesting area because of the ratio of maids to children (Biggs 1995, p.256). During 15 years of teaching in this region, I have often witnessed several maids in a family, sometimes one per child, particularly amongst Arabian Gulf nationals.

Certain concerns relating to the maid situation underpin this study:

- Concern about the effects on children who have maids, who because of their positions³ appear to perform basic tasks for them, is often a topic of discussion amongst professionals, with teachers questioning the potential of maid dependence interfering with the acquisition of tools or skills which are necessary for social and educational development. This is particularly pertinent when a degree of self-reliance is required, for example, functioning independently in a school with a child-centred programme and generally staffed with Western teachers.
- A similar question is: Does the practice impede teaching and learning? Particularly as the kinds of things that maids seem to do for children contrast greatly with a philosophy of independent learning and risk-taking: qualities strongly encouraged and fostered in many international schools today.

² Lutz 2002 and Tronto 2002 consider various terminology.

³ Jureidini (2003) and Roumani (2005) discuss the master-servant relationship which impacts the dynamics and can in turn affect the quality of childcare. It implies an *open-ended duty of obedience* (ibid.).

My interest in this particular topic does not merely stem out of my own extensive experience in the international context. Personal observations, **plus** countless informal conversations with international educators at the Centre for the study of Education in an International Context (CEIC) in the University of Bath, Council of International Schools (CIS) conferences, International Baccalaureate organization (IB) training sessions, and other venues, were instrumental in initiating this journey to explore possible consequences of hired help on children's development.

Previous academic research related to this subject is relatively sparse. In 2003, AL-Shatti investigated the interactive styles of two kinds of caregivers in Kuwait: mothers and maids. Roumani (2005) voiced her concerns after conducting a study in two international nurseries in the Arabian Gulf, where she examined the effects of maids on social and emotional development. Her findings indicated that the maid culture has become normal practice in the region (ibid.); her sample revealed that 58 per cent of children below three years of age, in the Arabian Gulf, spend 30-70 hours a week being cared for by maids.⁴ Eighty per cent of European expatriate and 40 per cent of Arab and Asian expatriate children are cared for by maids while parents are at work; maids' jobs also include domestic work (ibid.). Almost all local families employ more than one maid, delegating a large amount of childcare to them (ibid.). Findings suggested harmful effects including attachment and social attitude issues and implications for social and emotional development.⁵

The limited literature available signifies that hired help continue to do basic things such as bathing, carrying belongings etc... for some international school children, for far longer than is normally expected (Hayden 2006, p.48) with potential to promote 'learned helplessness', *which could affect the child's potential for growing into a self-reliant and responsible adult* (ibid.); linguistic issues are also mentioned. Similarly, Langford et al. (2002, p.41) deem the fact that some affluent international school children are raised by an array of employees, to be an area of concern and dilemma.

Aims of the Study

In my study, two schools in two small countries in the Arabian Gulf are investigated: one with an intake of multinational children follows the spirit of the English National Curriculum, and the other, an IB World School where the students largely consist of Arabian Gulf nationals, offers three IB programmes⁶. Although they differ in their intake of clientele and organization, both schools would regard themselves as schools operating within an international context and both would fit into the categories typified by Hayden and Thompson (2008).

The concerns previously mentioned, led to the aim of this thesis which was to explore perceived social and educational implications of home/school differences in the pedagogic orientation of children who have maids, at selected sites in the Middle East.

As a result of this aim, other questions emerge and are investigated within this work:

⁴ This exceeds the recommendations of major studies (Roumani 2005).

⁵ These studies are discussed further in Chapter 4.

⁶ IB World School and programmes are detailed on pp.xiii - xiv.

- Why does the presence of maids appear to be so widespread in families of children who attend certain ‘international schools’?
- What do these maids do?
- Why do the maids act in the way that they do?
- How does the school activity differ from the home activity as a result of the maid?
- What are the perceived social and cognitive consequences for children as a result of the influence of maids?
- How can international schools alleviate or cater for a situation where children are perceived to display characteristics of over reliance upon maids?

In order to gather information that would help achieve the aim and answer these questions, I needed to somehow examine the institutional settings⁷ for the perceived impact of social relations upon learning, when there is a change in circumstances through maid intervention. I regarded this as requiring a theory that would consider the social context and the cultural embeddedness of everyday practices, which would help analyze what is happening in this situation. Thus, I selected sociocultural theory and activity theory, as a framework from which to design the inquiry, and to carry out the analysis.

The Framework and Basic Assumptions

Consequently, this study is linked to the work of Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky and post-Vygotskian theorists, and based upon assumptions that:

- Knowledge and skills are sociocultural formations
- Agency⁸ is pivotal in the learning process
- Context also impacts upon the way in which individuals learn

Sociocultural theory stems from an approach to learning originated by Vygotsky (Daniels 2001). Vygotsky saw learning as occurring through dialogue, first in a social context then by internally processing the knowledge and tools of thought that first existed outside the child, known as interpersonal and intrapersonal. From the literature reviewed in this study, it is obvious that the zone of proximal development (ZPD) was used by Vygotsky to explain the interactional part of the cognitive process. The ZPD is often described as the distance between the actual development and the potential development. The child is able to reach its potential with the help of a ‘more capable other’. Anecdotal evidence has indicated that maids as the more capable other often perform the tasks or activities themselves, thus taking full control. This prompts the question as to whether or not dependence could impede the usual process of the child reaching its full potential.

The theoretical framework used is also linked to the work of post-Vygotskians such as Cole, Daniels, Engeström, Hutchins, Lave, Salomon and Wenger, all of whom consider the critical role of context in the learning process. The tenets of

⁷ The institutional settings examined here are the home and the school.

⁸ Vygotsky emphasized that learning was not purely individual but was rather more dependent upon social forces; the individual is engaged in relational activities with others.

Engeström's activity theory (AT)⁹ have enabled me to consider the social context rather than simply explore the adult child interaction. The theories mentioned above are explained in Chapter Three.

In these terms, where learning is first social and then individual and context is also regarded as an essential factor, tensions could possibly exist. This social cognition model highlights culture as the main determinant of human development, thus implying that a child's learning is shaped in various ways, including through family culture and environmental culture. Therefore, if the environment at home is such that the maid does everything for the child, there might be a possibility of such dependent behaviour being transferred into other pedagogic environments such as school, potentially leading to a clash between views of the socialization process in the home and the goals of encouraging independence at school.

Outline of the Thesis

Part I is dedicated to the literature review:

Here, I set the scene for the investigation by presenting an overview of education and schools in an international context in Chapter One, followed by aspects related to the home-school relationship in the second chapter. I then move on to Chapter Three, in an attempt to provide a theoretical account of the framework employed in this study of children's functioning, within a situation where there is possible maid intervention.

Part II - the empirical section:

This section begins with Chapter Four offering the reader a summary of the methodology and methods used. Chapter Five details the presentation of the empirical work, together with the analysis and discussion of findings. The conclusion, recommendations and ideas for future research are reviewed in the final chapter, where I also reflect on my prior assumptions and decisions and consider some elements of the research project that I found surprising.

Having introduced the focus of the study and having discussed the rationale, aims and outlined the shape of the thesis, I now proceed to the first chapter which examines education in an international context.

⁹ AT views learning as being mediated by context; it investigates the people involved in the activity, the object of the activity, the rules, and the way in which the task is generally shared in each setting.

PART I: THE LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER 1

CONTEXT 1:

EDUCATION IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Introduction

As the schools in my investigation are schools which operate within an international context, I wish to provide a brief overview of literature associated with such institutions, in order to set the scene for the research inquiry. I will illustrate the background to the field, presenting details related to international schools, international education and school clientele. The role of the maid in the context of this study is introduced.

1.1 Background to this field

Largely as a result of recent growth in the movement of population on a global scale (Hoffman 1991, p.162), there has been a substantial increase in ‘*international schools*’ or at least in schools which call themselves international. The increase relates to a number of factors, including catering for market needs and establishing schools driven by ideology. Many of these institutions have some link to Western biased national systems, which frequently foster skills enabling children *to learn how to learn* (Hayden 2006, p.4). Furthermore, the number of international schools adopting the International Baccalaureate programmes which promote a variety of dispositions and attitudes linked to self-reliance is constantly increasing¹⁰.

Similarly, the movement of population and greater degree of global dependency (Hayden 2006, pp.2-4) has entered the world of education and could be regarded as having set the scene for something called ‘*international education*’.

I first reflect upon international schools, revealing various specifics.

1.2 International Schools

Regardless of increase, Hayden and Thompson (1995) confirm ‘international schools’ and ‘international education’ as somewhat recent terms.

Although relatively new, the term, ‘international school’ is open to clear definition, but has been well documented (Obura 1985; Pönisch 1987; Jonietz 1991; Hayden and Thompson 1996; Hayden and Thompson 2000; Langford et al. 2002; Hayden 2006; Hayden and Thompson 2008). Hayden (2006) and Hayden and Thompson (2008) discuss definitions, characteristics and provide a brief history.

¹⁰ In November 2009, there were 756,000 IB students in 2,743 schools. There are now more than 852,000 IB students in 3,032 schools in 139 countries (IB August 2010).

1.2.1 Details and Specifics of International Schools

Numbers are impressive and constantly increasing: Matthews (1989) suggested a potential population of three to four million, while the CIS Directory lists over 1,100 registered international institutions (CIS 2009). Sanderson (1981 in Hayden and Thompson 1995) estimated 600,000 students by 1980. Hayden and Thompson (2000a) claim that there were at least 1,000 international schools by 1995, later (2008) mentioning Brummit's estimation (2007) of 4,000 international schools.

Categories differ: according to Hayden and Thompson (2000), Leach (1969) organized them into four groups, while Sanderson (1981) classified seven types of international schools. Pönisch (1987) elaborating on Leach and Sanderson's categories named eleven kinds of international schools. Terwilliger (1972, in Hayden and Thompson 1995) alludes to four central requisites for schools wishing to be international.

Some schools could be regarded as being market driven while others are based on a particular ideology (Matthews 1988; Hayden and Thompson 2008), although, Hayden and Thompson (1995) question whether or not the two could be linked. These leading international school specialists believe that international schools are mostly a collection of single schools *which may or may not share an underlying educational philosophy* (Hayden and Thompson *ibid.*).

Although diverse in context, international schools often have similar features (Bartlett 1992; Hayden and Thompson 1995), such as a high turnover of students, diversity of languages, nationalities and cultures.

In reality, the most common factor that such institutions arguably have is that they are labelled 'international schools'. Many tend to attract children from high socio-economic groups; this is often reflected in the generally high fee structure, certainly true within the context of this study.¹¹

My focus in this study is upon two schools that fit into Hill's typologies (2006):

- International school and international programme
- International school and national programme.

I have established that educationalists such as Matthews (1989), Hayden and Thompson (1995) and Hayden (2006) recognize the existence of international schools and acknowledge an approach to teaching called 'international education'. I now consider this latter term.

1.3 International Education

Hayden (2006, pp.4-5) presents an outline reviewing the many dimensions of international education while MacKenzie et al. (2001) admit that a succinct but all-inclusive definition for the term is difficult to pin down.

¹¹ Many children have their fees paid by the parent's company. However, a substantially high remuneration package is usually also reflected in the salary.

To some, international education may simply be a comparative analysis of educational systems in two or more countries. To others, it may be the private education offered by a small, fee-paying school in the middle of Dubai with 45 nationalities in the student body and ten in the teaching faculty. In contrast, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO's) (1994) definition of international education regards peace, human rights and democracy as prominent factors.

Renowned experts Hayden and Thompson (1995; Thompson 1998; Hayden 2006, pp.6-7) suggest that there is more to international education than a formal curriculum deemed suitable for a particular context or the use of the term 'international school' and they propose a philosophy based on universals in the field (Hayden and Thompson 1996). They also refer to international education as a crossing of borders by a person or an idea and:

...providing an education which opens minds and encourages the exchange of ideas, and develops 'world mindedness'
(Hayden and Thompson 1995a).

Undoubtedly, transferring ideas and philosophy is not always easy to accomplish (ibid.).

On a similar note, the IB mission statement is comparable to UNESCO's view of international education, in that it aims:

...to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a... peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect... compassionate and lifelong learners who understand... other people with their differences, can also be right (IB 2009c).

After outlining the various definitions for international education, Hayden (2006, p.5) settles for the fact that international education is an *inclusive umbrella term which incorporates a number of other more specific interpretations*. Hayden credits the Harvard Educational Review with an accurate description: an education which endeavours to cater *for the increasing interdependence that we face and to consider its relationship to learning* (ibid.).

I now briefly review the curriculum, which according to Lawton's view is *a selection of the culture of a society* (1989, in Hayden 2006, p.131), a view which in such a diverse community may be complex (Hayden ibid.).

1.4 Curricula

Although the limits of this study prevent me discussing curriculum in depth, and in many respects it is not required for this inquiry, I touch upon some details in order to provide background information.

Thompson (1998) classified the curriculum in international schools into four different types:

- Exportation - which emerges from a national system: based on the culture of that specific society
- Adaptation – curricula adapted from a national system
- Integration – bringing together various curricula and best practice
- Creation of a new programme

Thompson (ibid. pp.278-280) and Hayden (2006, pp.132-136) elaborate on programmes which fit into these categories. In this study, one sample school fits into the exportation category, while the other has adopted a new programme.

Curricula from many national systems often promote the acquisition of life skills, independent learning and attitudes which develop personal, social and emotional (PSE) areas, although it might be considered a Western biased philosophy. In England, for instance, the Early Years Foundation Stage Framework (DCSF 2008) has a significant PSE section for young children, with such notions as independence and self-help skills appearing to be prevalent. Along similar lines, the Knowledge and Human Development Authority (KHDA) of Dubai are currently seeking evidence of a student's independence of thought and sense of responsibility in their annual inspection process of all Dubai schools (KHDA 2010).

Similarly, the IB organization, often regarded by prominent international educationalists as representing a *collection of internationally minded schools around the world* (Hill 2000), ensures that the beliefs and values which actually drive the IBPYP are in line with the IB mission statement. Pinpointing essential elements of a learner profile which it deems as being critical in international schools, such as one of my sample schools, it advocates an international person as somebody with qualities of internationalism and who is an inquirer, thinker, communicator and risk-taker; who is knowledgeable, principled, caring, open-minded and reflective. The goals of the International Primary Curriculum (IPC)¹² also emphasize elements such as personal learning, enquiring minds, respect for other nationalities and cultures, and skills to confidently face the world.

Having considered international schools, a 'philosophy' of international education and the curriculum, I now focus on the actual clientele of international schools, namely the students and parents.

1.5 Parents of Children in International Schools

Parents may not be the immediate clientele of international schools as such, but they generally make the major decision as to which school their offspring attend.

Although very little has been documented about parents in international schools (Hayden 2006, p.21), Mackenzie et al. (2001) maintain that this particular group are very diverse. They may, as Hayden suggests, share common ground, for example, payment of school fees is usually involved whether by the company who employs them or by the parents themselves. Hayden (2006, p.21) also states that for the most part they are well educated. Generally true, this may not be so for all. In the Arabian Gulf, parents may have grown up as Bedouin in the desert without any formal

¹²The International Primary Curriculum (IPC) is an international curriculum which provides a cross-curricular and thematic approach to teaching (IPC 2008).

education as such; therefore, there is a possibility that some may be semi-literate. This has not stopped many local parents frequently coming from affluent backgrounds mostly due to oil and gas revenue (al-Najjar 2001). Consequently, this affluence has enabled them to employ maids, drivers and other individuals who actively contribute to the division of labour in the household (ibid; Roumani 2005). In addition, women have a changing role in the Middle East with many of them developing careers and relying upon maids (al-Najjar 2001; Roumani 2005). The traditional way of life, rules and community have all, to some extent, been modified.

In expatriate families, the father is usually the sole breadwinner (Hayden 2006, p.23) and brings with him a '*trailing spouse*' (ibid.) who Hayden defines as *the partner who effectively follows the breadwinner* (ibid.). Anecdotal evidence indicates that sometimes superfluous funds help to secure a luxury lifestyle, including inexpensive hired help. In many instances, both parents work. The usual issues related to culture shock (Langford 1998; Langford et al. 2002, pp.35-48) often prevail, and in reality, expatriates leave behind extended families and their traditional community, as data from the background interviews suggested. Help and advice on child rearing often provided by grandma and walks in the park organized by grandpa will not be possible. In many cases, close relatives are replaced by a series of maids from developing countries, who in turn have often left their own families at home (al-Najjar 2001; Roumani 2005; Constantine and Issa 2007; O'Driscoll 2009, refers to Kalaff 2009). In this situation, the maids sometimes adopt the role of the extended family. Nevertheless, they may not always have the interest and emotional attachment that an extended family would normally have and their *raison d'être* is purely financial (al-Najjar 2001). Rules of upbringing, the communities and the way in which tasks and roles are divided, that may have been the norm for expatriates in the home country – parents and maids alike, may well have changed.

1.6 International Students

As for the actual students, the highly heterogeneous nature of many international schools is largely generated by the body of students that they cater for (Hayden 2006, p.39). Furthermore, not only does this school population differ culturally, linguistically and nationally, but so does the total rationale of being in an international school in the first place (ibid.). Hayden and Thompson (2008, pp.43-47) refer to three kinds of students who attend international schools: Global Nomads or Third Culture Kids (TCK), returnees from English medium schools overseas and host country nationals who usually hail from the elite sections of society (ibid).

Complex issues exist in such schools (Hayden 1998, p.1): issues which are often a consequence of the sheer diverse nature of students and faculty. Matters linked to diversity of culture and language, mobility of staff and students, scope of management and diversity of curricula - all features of such a situation, constantly need to be considered.

However, this study rather concentrates on one particular issue – that of maid involvement in the lives of both expatriate and host country children who come from the economic elite and who attend private, fee-paying international schools, in the context of the Arabian Gulf. Roumani (2005) declares her concern about the topic:

Delegation of childcare duties to domestic workers in the Arabian Gulf is on the rise.

1.6.1 Students and Maids

One of the most common threads in every school that I have worked in overseas,¹³ whether the children have been local or expatriate, has been the presence of hired help – cleaners, drivers, ‘house-boys’ and often in abundance, maids. This observation is frequently mentioned by colleagues teaching in this context. Arguably, for some children in certain geographical regions who could be regarded as rootless, a constant factor in their lives, apart from school, could be the presence of a maid or number of maids who are highly involved in their upbringing or who act as the main carer. Even so, in numerous cases, the maid may change on a regular basis (Schaetti 2002; Roumani 2005).

Some international school students - mostly elite host country nationals, and expatriates atypical of national systems (Hayden and Thompson 2008, p.76) could find themselves becoming *valuable and influential employees and leaders* (ibid.). However, if these children are to grow into self-reliant and responsible adults (Hayden 2006, p.48), the consequences for those students who rely on maids and other paid carers who might do everything for them, could be detrimental.

Despite being frequently discussed by some international educators, the international schools literature, albeit sparse (Hayden 1998), holds even less reference to the fact that some children who attend this type of school often have hired help - a ‘maid’ or a ‘house boy’, as the main carer. Although, Langford et al. (2002, p.41), Schaetti (2002, pp.109-112) and Hayden (2006, pp.47-48) acknowledge issues that maid dependence generated by affluence may present, such as lack of parental support as well as attachment issues and learned helplessness, which are two aspects considered in Chapter 2. Similarly, reference to the ‘didi syndrome’ in Nepal where didis – or hired help do everything, is made by Poore (2005).

Hence, the purpose of this study is to examine the implications of home upbringing in the context of two international schools in the Arabian Gulf, exploring the potential impact of maid intervention on formal education; in essence, to examine orientations to learning in different cultural worlds.¹⁴

Summary

To summarize, as my sample schools are classed as operating within an international context, I provided the reader with a short background to this field. I established that there is a diverse body of students who attend equally diverse international schools which may or may not offer an international programme and foster ideals of an international education. I also introduced the notion that some students from certain regions, for example the Arabian Gulf, have hired help as the main carer.

Having briefly introduced the topic of maids, I will now move on to the next chapter which examines home/school relationship with particular reference to maids and the geographical area where the study was executed.

¹³ Schools were in: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Egypt, Qatar, Singapore.

¹⁴ This refers to the cultural worlds of the home and the school.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXT II:

HOME AND SCHOOL RELATIONS

Maids do whatever we tell them to!

Quote from a five year old child during the background interviews (2007).

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined issues associated with the field of education in an international context. I now present literature which concentrates upon the relations of the social worlds – the home and the school in further preparation for the investigation.

Children grow up within contexts heavily influenced by grown-ups (Nelson 1981, in Cole 1996, pp.127-128), with their roles and activities controlled and even constrained by these adults (Cole *ibid.*). While not all adults teach in the formal sense of the word, they manipulate the actions and goals of situations through such things as schema¹⁵ and scripts of everyday practice or events (*ibid.*). Thus, children are influenced by the culture of the home and the school, and are subject to the formal and informal teaching in both of these institutional settings. Consequently, children operate in settings with differing embedded systems (Bronfenbrenner 1979, in Cole 1996, p.133), where the tools of learning, rules and the way in which tasks are shared differ, and may not always be compatible. These points clearly have a bearing on the context of this study where the main focus is the child who has a maid.

This second chapter, therefore, provides an overview of relevant literature on home/school relations in this context, including material associated with cultural aspects, school culture, learning and the home, maternal teaching strategies and maids. A short summary of learned helplessness and attachment and how they feature in this study concludes the chapter. I first discuss aspects pertaining to culture.

2.1 Culture

Kramsch views culture as:

...the result of human intervention in the biological processes of nature (1998, p.10),

something which begins at a young age. In fact, cultural traits and personal identity are likely to be ingrained by the age of six years (Allan 2002, referring to Triandis, 1990 and Hofstede, 1994), a point endorsed by Minoura (1992). The major influence of parents on cultural development at this early stage (*ibid.*) is clearly a relevant notion for this study of maids' involvement in the activity of children.

¹⁵ Ways in which past experiences equip a person with the knowledge to enter familiar situations (Cole 1996).

Many definitions of culture exist (Stenhouse 1975; Fennes and Hapgood 1997; Cambridge 1998; Alexander 2001; Trumbull et al. 2001; Pearce 2003; Daniels 2001), but the challenge for this thesis is to arrive at a working definition for the demands of this study.

Culture can be identified in two ways according to Trumbull et al. (2001, p.1). The first highlights tangible objects such as artefacts, clothes, and food; in essence, things that can be observed or visualized. The other, often regarded as a cognitive approach to examining culture (ibid.) emphasizes values, ideas, beliefs and knowledge – invisible elements associated more with behaviour and perceptions of the world. Hofstede (1994, in Allan 2002) views culture as layers in an onion - some traits concealed; others more open. Fennes and Hapgood (1997, p.14) portray culture as an iceberg; only the tip is easily visible and includes music, clothes etc.... It is clearly more difficult to observe such factors as practices, values and beliefs which appear submerged, in this particular analogy. In relation to these ideals of culture, Pearce's opinion (2003) has some bearing on this thesis:

...values are the essential directors of human behaviour... a community's common values are the essence of its culture,

as does the view of Hutchins (1995, in Cole 1996, p.129) who links the external and internal understanding of culture, regarding it as more of a human cognitive process:

...a process in which everyday cultural practices are enacted... a process that takes place... inside and outside the minds (ibid.).

This idea of strong connections between culture and mind gave rise to the field of cultural psychology, which examines culture as it enters into the psychological process.

Cole (1996) does not portray culture as being identified simply as visual artefacts or ideals. Fundamental components of culture, artefacts actually include such influential elements as routines, schemas, games and rituals as well as manufactured objects (Cole ibid. p.131; White 1996, p.xiv). Similarly, White insists that:

...the social world influences the individual not only through... people... but through social practices and objects... around that individual (ibid.).

Thus, in examining human development through a cultural approach,

...we must make the study of surrounding social practices part... of our inquiry (ibid.),

which is what I attempt in this study.

Cultural schemas, routines, scripts and models may evidently play a major part in forming cultural artefacts which mediate learning and development (Cole 1996, pp.116-145) but *human behaviour must be understood... in relation to its context*

(ibid. p.131). Cole provides examples of seeing a furry cat paw in two different scenarios: hanging from a child's bedroom cupboard and a similar sight under a hammock in a rain forest. Each scene would elicit a different reaction and schema due to its context (ibid. p.130).

With regard to context, Cole uses metaphorical comparisons:

Context as that which surrounds (Cole 1996, p.132)

Here, Cole refers to levels of context represented by circles, with the child as learner in the middle; various systems e.g. classroom organization and actors involved form the context or activity which surrounds the child, and in essence creates a culture which shapes it. However, the layers that surround appear to be quite distinct.

Context as that which weaves together (ibid. p.133)

More than merely surrounding, this process of weaving involves social practices and shared activities. Cole suggests that the environment and the artefacts or tools mesh together like a rope: goals, tools and the setting form the context of the behaviour and the ways in which learning is related to that context. Consequently, culture is being created through and in the activity of the actors.

In the context of my inquiry, children are subject to the social and cultural practices of hiring maids, whose behaviour could be considered as a product of the cultural setting. In turn, this behaviour and activity creates a culture where children and even adults might arguably be dependent upon others.

Concept of a Garden:

Cole (1996, p.143) views culture as *a system of artefacts and mind as the process of mediating behaviour through artefacts*, culture is the medium and context is that *which surrounds or weaves together* (ibid.). Bringing culture and context together, Cole uses the metaphor of a garden where children are nurtured and development is promoted, where the right tools and optimal conditions for growth can be found (ibid. pp.143-144). This prompts the question as to how well 'maid children', who have been 'grown' in certain conditions at home, will survive under different conditions, in an alternative environment such as school.

In order to consider this relationship of culture and mind, the definition of culture adopted in this study encompasses not only basic artefacts and ideals but tools such as routines and schemas and includes context, with its historically and socially bound practices.

2.1.1 Cultural Difference between Institutional Settings

Since people create their own realities and their beliefs and values differ, culture is no straightforward issue and is:

...one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language (Williams 1983, in Reagan 2005, p.29).

Different communities of people have different ways of communicating, rearing children and expectations of behaviour (Trumball et al. 2001, p.2; de Haan 2001). Commenting on the subject, Ogbu (1995, in Shafer 1998, p.1) proposes that:

People behave, think and feel in 'cultural worlds,' and each human population lives in a somewhat different 'cultural world'.

In this inquiry, I concentrate on two cultural worlds or settings that influence the child, i.e. the home and the school. Changes between these institutional settings create diverse orientations to learning in different cultural worlds and could have implications for the child. For example, when children from a collectivist culture such as African or Arabic attend schools which have an individualistic culture¹⁶, the situation can be challenging (Trumbull et al. 2001, pp.4-19).

I now review aspects relating to school culture, as the child in this context who is shaped by the culture of the home, is equally shaped by another culture: that of the school.

2.2 School Culture

Researchers have sought evidence of school culture with increasing attention since the 70s. The surge to examine educational change and school improvement triggered a great interest in school culture (Maslowski 2006). Just as individuals, groups and communities have a specific culture, so too do schools (Trumbull et al. 2001, p.1). However, each institution usually consists of a homogenous culture rather than considering differences and cultures of their clientele.

In addition to teaching skills and imparting knowledge, Bernstein (1981, in Daniels et al. 1996) regarded schools as institutions that transmit cultural messages. Similarly, Daniels (2008, p.168) specifies how schools themselves:

...are cultural products which serve as mediators... based on a system of social relations... and shaped by interactions which they also shape (ibid.).

All school aspects affect its culture and in turn the specific culture permeates school matters and organization. Each school has its own culture which will be affected by features such as management, ethos, behaviour expectations, discipline, organizational issues and ways of learning and teaching (Allan 2002). Likewise, Bullock and Wikeley (2004, p.122) state that the culture of an institution is recognized by established *understandings, values, traditions and social practices*. Inherent in the school culture in the international context, such as in the context of this study, may be the impact of whether the school is profit making or based on international education ideologies, a factor which could influence social practices.

One question that arises is 'Are the cultures of two schools ever the same?' Stenhouse (1975, pp.46-47) and Daniels (1989) would provide a negative answer, a point explored below.

¹⁶ Individualistic cultures give priority to individual satisfaction and choice; pupils are treated as individuals and acquisition of attitudes and skills to enable learning is emphasized. Conversely, a collective culture gives precedence to interdependency of the family and group satisfaction, conflict is avoided and children speak when spoken to. Children continue to adopt their respective cultural traits in school (Allan 2002).

2.2.1 School Culture and Deviation

Clearly, school rules and expectations may be different from not only those of the home, but also in each school type, due to divergent cultural values and traditions in these worlds.

In as much as the move from home to school is, in itself, a culture shock, Daniels (1989) maintains what is deemed competence in one school culture could be regarded as incompetence in another. Arguing that even such aspects as displays of art work are *part of the system of signs that constitute the culture of a school* and implicitly impart cultural messages, Daniels (ibid.) indicates that children have to learn what type of culture occurs in a school to avoid being *marginalised* (ibid.). This is a particularly interesting point for my context, as it has repercussions for such a transient and mobile population¹⁷.

Daniels et al. (1996) and Stenhouse (1975, pp.47-51) specify Bernstein's general model of 'cultural transmission', using weak and strong classification and framing¹⁸ as a method for looking at school culture (Daniels 2008, pp.155-157). Teachers in schools with strong classification and framing tend to adopt a more behaviourist approach to teaching: subjects, teachers and pupils are specialized and there is a hierarchical relationship between children and teachers. Schools with weak classification and framing are less specialized: the child actively constructs its own understanding - a greater degree of independence is required and the relationship between teacher and child is on a more equal footing (Daniels ibid. expands), such as in my sample schools.

2.2.2 Diversity within the School

The culture in international schools, such as in this study, is generally complex owing to the variation of nationalities in most of these establishments (Shafer 1998, p.2; Walker 2000). A melting pot of nationalities, cultures and values in many overseas American and international schools, means even **describing** the culture is difficult (Shafer 1998). The very nature of such institutions often guarantees a child great exposure to more than one culture: that of multicultural peers, sometimes the host country and naturally school culture, which is frequently generated by a Western biased staff (Murphy mentioned in Langford 1998, p.39). Such diversity in international schools could cause significant *cultural dissonance between the home and the school*, i.e. where the teaching of the home clashes with that of the school (Allan 2002), an argument supported by Fennes and Hapgood (1997, pp.75-81).

Trumbull et al (2001, p.27) advocate that potential conflict between the different value systems of the home and the school can be avoided somewhat by acknowledging barriers and differing orientations. Therefore, if schools are to work in partnership with parents, serious consideration of cultural differences and an attempt to alleviate any consequent mis-match is necessary (ibid.). Shafer (1998, pp.2-3) considers a 'cultural differences' approach which acknowledges how each culture provides its community with specific tools, and assumes that there is a difference between the culture of the home and the school, thus exploring a potential mis-match in communication and expectations (ibid.). Shafer recommends

¹⁷ In one of the sample schools, 25% of the children (75) left the school in June 2009.

¹⁸ Bernstein's general model of 'cultural transmission' refers to weak and strong classification (or social division of labour) and weak or strong framing (or control).

developing a learning environment that fits the needs of the children (ibid.) and respects the influence of the child's cultural cognitive experiences, values and thoughts. Using children's 'funds of knowledge', the learning often freely acquired by children through naturally occurring experiences and activities in the context of the home, could go some way towards closing any gap (ibid.). The context of an extremely diverse situation, such as in many international schools, could be more complex than in a small school in a national system, where the teacher comes from the same sociocultural group, for example. In such a diverse situation, national differences in pedagogic orientation, such as in Hofstede's four areas of comparison (Figure. 2A), could come into play.

2.2.3 Hofstede's Four Areas of Comparison

The issue of how culture affects educational matters and schooling is debated by Allan (2002), who refers to Hofstede's study on cultural elements, which pinpointed *four areas of comparison*. In looking at this model, it is evident that there are significant implications for international schools, whose frequently diverse faculty often attempt to cater for a diverse student body and who could, therefore, encounter increased cultural dissonance. The way that international schools *recognise, acknowledge and work with cultural dissonance* is imperative (Allan ibid.), to achieve intercultural learning and to ensure success for all students.

<i>Power distance</i>	The disproportionate division of power in society is reflected in schools and teaching. Large 'power distance' countries (e.g. Brazil, Thailand) tend to teach by rote and transmission; children never question. Small 'power distance' countries (e.g. New Zealand, Holland, Australia) adopt a child centred approach; students are allowed to voice opinions and ask questions.
<i>Individualism v collectivism</i>	Individualistic cultures (e.g. USA, UK, Sweden) give priority to individual satisfaction and choice; pupils are treated as individuals and the emphasis is on acquisition of attitudes and skills to enable learning. In areas such as India, the Middle East, precedence is given to interdependency of the family and group satisfaction, thus adopting a collective culture. These cultural traits continue in school - conflict is avoided and students speak when spoken to.
<i>Masculinity v femininity</i>	In 'masculine' countries (e.g. USA, UK) competitiveness and materialism are important. 'Feminine' cultures exist in places such as Finland and Holland; there is an acceptance of failure and such aspects as the quality of life are significant.
<i>Uncertainty avoidance</i>	Countries with a strong 'uncertainty avoidance' culture (e.g. Japan, Thailand, Brazil) prefer an instructive, expert teaching style while the countries with a weak 'uncertainty avoidance' culture (e.g. Sweden, New Zealand, UK) adopt a more informal approach to teaching.

Figure 2.A *Four Areas of Comparison Pinpointed by Hofstede (Allan 2002)*

Regardless of school culture, as previously discussed, there is an expectation in many international schools, such as those in this study, for students to acquire generic skills and attitudes which promote independence, thus enabling full access to the curricula

on offer. However, because of their positions, maids may not encourage or allow independent functioning.

This image of the child shared by the home and school highlights the significance of home school interaction. Yet, this was one problematic area identified by Allan (ibid.) in his research on cultural dissonance in an international school. With this concern in mind, I now examine literature on homes and schools.

2.3 Home and School Relations

One method... for enhancing children's learning is through increased collaboration between home and school... (Hughes and Pollard 2006).

In 1984, Marland criticized teachers' views of parental involvement; they tended to impose the school's way of teaching on parents instead of fostering beneficial partnerships for the child (ibid.). Despite supposedly positive consequences to home-school partnerships, little has changed over recent years. Although encouraged globally (Hughes 1996, pp.96-108; Hughes and Greenhough 2006), in reality, ideas range from regarding parents as problematic, as being in a partnership with schools, through to solely being consumers who select a school for their child (Hughes 1996, p.96). Tomlinson (2001, pp.179-186), detailing various home/school links including those throughout Europe, considers the stereotype of working class/ethnic parents as being uninterested and incapable, as a false perception. She regards these parents as less able than middle class parents to merely '**manage**' the system of education. Over recent years, Tomlinson (ibid.) found that rather than being part of a system where genuine home/school links are embedded, a factor conducive to children's learning (ibid.), parents have merely become consumers with a choice of schools.

Although in the international context parents can sometimes exercise choice, most schools are of Western, English speaking orientation (Walker 2000; Poore 2005) usually catering for mainstream children. Many schools may be market driven and fee-paying (Mackenzie et al. 2001), but not all parents have options, as stated by Hayden (2006, p.31). Realistically, choice is dependent upon the availability of places and the ability of the child. Recently, in the UAE (2007-2010), some new families have returned home due to a lack of school places, leaving the main breadwinner behind.

International schools have additional matters which could contribute to parental concerns: transition issues, accessing suitable schools, diversity of language and diverse curricula, for instance (Wasow 1993; Langford et al. 2002, p.39). Furthermore, in my experience, schools are often the only point of contact with other adults for many expatriate mothers who are isolated without their extended family, thus, they often play a crucial role in the family's life, a point endorsed by Hayden (2006, p.25). Consequently, international schools *can take on a much higher profile* (Hayden and Thompson 2008) than national schools normally would, often actively supporting families.

Most international school parents are fee-paying customers, usually from a high socio-economic group. They often have higher than normal expectations of being

empowered by the school, although, this depends on the culture (Allen 2000, p.131). Different cultural groups are used to different types of participation (Langford et al. 2002, p.23). Comparisons include Finnish parents who hold an 'inclusive partnership' outlook of parental involvement as opposed to a Korean view where parents prefer to support the child **outside** the school. Some parents seem willing to relinquish power and allow home/school liaison to rest with the maid or hired help, an aspect linked to this study (Langford et al. 2002 p.41).

2.3.1 Research on Home/School Relations

Hughes (1996, pp.97-101) elaborates upon the various studies of Barbara Tizard (1976; 1979; 1980s), which highlighted the home and the school as two distinct worlds.

The situation has not really improved of late (Hughes 1996). A study by Holden, Hughes and Desforjes in 1992 (ibid. p.104) found that teachers were only partly aware of parents' views and their wishes to be more involved in children's education. They were unwilling to change their practice according to the viewpoint of parents. Hughes et al. concluded in a study in 1993-1994 that the little involvement parents had in school based learning *was essentially one way* (ibid. p.107) with schools taking little account of parents' views, factors not confined to UK (ibid. p.108).

Benefits of home/school partnership are debated. Fertig (2000, pp.145-149) discussing implications of effective schools literature and international schools, states that one of the eleven traits of effective schools (Sammons et al. 1997) was home/school partnership. Pearce (2002, p.159) stresses the importance of home/school links in this setting, particularly in helping mobile families to become assimilated into a different culture. Tudge et al. (2009) emphasize that transition from home to school is more successful when parents and teachers actively work together. On the other hand, Edwards and Warin (1999) found evidence of schools trying to enforce their values into the home thus imposing a form of colonization. They (ibid.) refer to Bastiani who after examining this particular area believes that parents have simply become props to support the school. Similarly, Dyson and Robson (1999, in Hughes and Pollard 2006) reflected that frequently school based projects operated as *a form of cultural imperialism*, particularly with previously marginalized families.

On the whole, none of this presents a very good image and indicates challenges for home/school liaison in the international context. An alternative approach taken in the Home School Knowledge Exchange (HSKE) project (2001-2005) attempted to acknowledge and build on the home practices and children's funds of knowledge.

2.3.2 The Home School Knowledge Exchange Project

This project involved Hughes and Greenhough (2006) who insist that *knowledge... essentially situated within particular communities of practice* needs to be imparted and transferred. Acknowledging the complexity of the situation (ibid.), the authors call for a fundamental modification in power relationships between the home and the school as this aspect underpins hidden agendas that impede knowledge exchange. They provide practical ways of making genuine contact between these institutions so that the funds of knowledge from the home were both respected and utilized.

Discussing a similar successful venture of drawing on children's funds of knowledge, in multicultural New York schools, Wasow (1993) acknowledges that the family and school are *significant systems in the child's life* (ibid.) and that through collaboration schools *can build foundations for partnerships* (ibid.). Describing two climate-building activities (ibid.) she advocates creation of a systemic approach to family/school alliance, envisaging this kind of project being successful in international schools.

In summary, I mentioned that both institutional settings influence the child. I considered the setting of the school and how pupils in schools, such as my sample schools are exposed to a variety of cultures: home, school, host country and international peer culture. I now turn to the other institutional setting which influences the child – that of the home.

2.4 Learning and the Home

Even though policy makers and educationalists have urged mutual communication between the home and school, in reality it is still very much 'one-way' with schools making limited attempt to fully acknowledge the funds of knowledge that children have (Hughes and Greenhough 2006). Teaching and learning in schools can be enhanced and enriched by incorporating funds of knowledge from home into the classroom (Moll et al. 1992; Shafer 1998, p.2) and Hughes and Greenhough (2006) cite their HSKE project as a successful example of such action.

Moll et al. (1992) regard funds of knowledge as complementary to the culture as there is a greater importance placed on:

...strategic knowledge and related activities essential in households' functioning, development and well-being (ibid.),

thus revealing the actual practicalities of what is happening in the child's world. These authors advise encompassing funds of knowledge from the *social, economic and productive* (ibid.) activities into the classroom.

Along similar lines, Gutiérrez (2008) takes the view that learning is not only vertical but also horizontal i.e. there are *horizontal forms of expertise... across an individual's practices* (ibid.). Like many of his contemporaries, he believes that this includes learning acquired *outside of the school* (ibid.). Gutiérrez's interest is in how the social organization of the numerous settings that children experience impedes or facilitates *cognitive work*. From an AT perspective, he considers that this approach identifies *both possibility and constraint within and across contexts* (ibid.). Clearly, Gutiérrez's work has implications for the situation I am researching.

From a similar aspect, key elements of Vygotsky's theory indicate that adults significantly influence children's perceptions of the world (Alfrey and Durell 2003, p.11). This framework of sociocultural theory used in this inquiry - an approach taken by Russian psychologists, considered *a theory of culture in mind* (Cole 1996, p.116) linked to *mediated actions in everyday practices* (ibid.) usually involving adults.

2.4.1 Adult and Child Interaction

Hence, it appears that children enter school with not only the culture of the home but also having acquired certain funds of knowledge from the daily activity and systems embedded in this context; these aspects involve interaction with adults, who in the context of this study could quite possibly be maids.

However, Pearce (2003) professes that a mother/child dyad (or pair) has *the strongest and most lasting influence* through which the child develops values and ways of communication (ibid.). Likewise, Tizard (1991) refers to Bowlby's view (1951) that:

...the quality of mother-child attachment in the first three years... shapes the child's... personality development.

Additionally, Hayden and Thompson (2008, p.49) refer to the influential maternal role: *the mother in the globally mobile family is a major determinant of the stability of the children*. This could be largely due to the fact that fathers often travel or work long hours and the absence of the extended family.

Having introduced a link between child development and adult bonding and influence, a summary of literature pertaining to teaching strategies that mothers use to influence the development of a child ensues. Although the adult at the focus of this study is a maid not a mother, no literature for maids' teaching strategies appears to exist.

2.4.2 Maternal Teaching Strategies (MTS)

A substantial amount of research in relation to mother/child dyads and maternal teaching strategies has been carried out (Nilholm and Säljö 1996; Moreno 2002), although, findings have been inconsistent (Nilholm and Säljö 1996) and strongly criticised (Dixon et al. 1984; Losey 1995). Most studies related to maternal interaction and cognitive styles have been frequently linked to class differences (Nilholm and Säljö 1996) with little consideration given to culture or ethnic minorities (Martínez 1988). Additionally, Nilholm and Säljö (1996) insist that research related to everyday action rather than staged set-ups would provide a more *neutral arena* and offer a better understanding of social practices that encompass everyday life.

2.4.3 Overview of MTS Studies

Studies using mother/child dyads include those linked to mother/child teaching interactions supporting success in schooling (Britto 2001; Laosa 1982, cited by Moreno 2002); studies of various techniques that mothers use to teach and interact with their children (Hess and Shipman 1965; Laosa 1980; Hokoda and Fincham 1995; Kermani and Brenner 1996); those which have regard for the ways that teaching is actually embedded in everyday activity (Wertsch et al. 1984; Rogoff et al. 1993, in Moreno 2002) and research which is culturally relevant (Moreno 2002; Wang et al. 2002; 2005). Moreno (2002) highlights the need to observe *naturally occurring teaching interactions within the context of everyday life* (ibid.) and he refers to Gallimore and Goldenburg (1993), who insist that teaching and learning is best understood by studying the whole '*activity setting*'. Nevertheless, findings that have emerged from research related to this field are arguably substantial and important.

According to Miller (1969), the whole notion of *maternal teaching styles* is attributed to Hess and Shipman (1965) who describe active and passive maternal teaching approaches: active being significantly related to higher intelligence levels; passive to lower (ibid.). Mothers who used specific, precise instructions to teach children were regarded as employing an active teaching style while mothers using the passive teaching style used less precise and specific directions and limited language (Miller 1969).

Further research suggested that a mother's influence on abilities and skills is most influential during early years and appears to affect such things as school readiness and subsequent success (Hess et al. 1984), a point previously mentioned by Steward and Steward (1973).

Laosa's findings (1980) signified maternal teaching strategies affected the cognitive style of young children: mothers who used inquiry and praise encouraged a field-independent cognitive style (independent and autonomous functioning) as opposed to mothers who used modelling and visual cues which appeared to result in field-dependent behaviour (reliance upon external sources). Saltaris et al. (2004) observed a link between cognitive growth and parental stimulation. Hokoda and Fincham (1995) investigated helpless and mastery patterns within families; their conclusions indicated that mothers of helpless and mastery children differed in their teaching styles. Mothers of children who would master problems had responded to the child with a teaching strategy; mothers of children showing tendencies of learned helplessness (they gave up when facing adversity) had not promoted mastery strategies but instead encouraged the children to relinquish the task. Wertsch et al. (1984, p.170) found that mothers in their research (mother/child dyads and teacher/child dyads working on a task) regarded the task as calling for maximal assistance as compared to teachers who saw the task as requiring maximal independence. The authors suggest that the respective activity setting was the reason behind the opposing ways in which the task was viewed. Similarly, de Haan (2001, p.195) ascertained that intersubjectivity (shared ways of viewing things and actions) is not a neutral concept but is rather linked to specific cultural practices (ibid.).

Admitting that *teaching styles are complex*, Wang et al. (2005) show concern that teachers are rarely aware that practices are organized differently in different cultures. The authors suggest that maternal participants' differing philosophies as regards effective teaching are due to cultural diversity. They discuss how Chinese mothers believed in being direct in their teaching as the child would be unable to complete the task independently; American mothers believed in guiding children to explore and learn and Native American mothers thought that children should be allowed to make their own mistakes to ensure future learning. Their cultural philosophies had implications for their teaching styles. Likewise, Laosa (1980) mentions how maternal behaviour differs in line with culture, educational level and socio-economic status and credits this as being a coping strategy to match each individual's environment. However he admits that:

The greater the match between the teaching strategies of the home... and the school the greater will be the likelihood that the child will make a smooth and successful transition between the two milieux (ibid.).

In sum, the scope of literature consulted here regarding maternal teaching strategies generally indicates: maternal teaching does affect potential academic achievement; certain teaching styles appear to encourage certain traits, and maternal teaching styles are culturally embedded and likely to be based on daily activity patterns.

The family may play an important part in education, in all cultures: Reagan (2005), after examining non-Western education traditions, discovered that the family is *the central facet of education* (ibid. p.250) but he insists that *different societies define the family in different ways* (ibid.). In the context of my study, the maid arguably plays a significant role in many families. From a sociocultural perspective, children develop cognitively and socially by interacting with others, particularly a more capable other. In cases where the maid might be the main person influencing and interacting with the child, schools may have to acknowledge her contribution to the child's funds of knowledge and the likelihood of working in partnership with her.

2.5 Maids - Not Mothers

The definition of the word 'mother' in the Oxford English Dictionary (1991, p.333) is *female parent*. Although this appears to be a straightforward term, because of cultural and social complexities which underpin the word, the term is more complex. The scope of this thesis does not allow for an in-depth discussion; therefore, I wish to adopt a term in the traditional sense: mothers are usually the primary caregivers who significantly influence their children's development and mediate between their offspring and the outside world (Tizard and Hughes 1984, p.35; Vazhalanickal 2003, p.50; Saltaris et al. 2004). However, in my context, these notions could be open to debate.

As Saltaris et al. (2004) propose studies to examine paternal teaching styles and influence on cognitive development, it seems logical to consider the interaction of other adults who act as a main carer or take a large responsibility for raising the child. The lack of research on this subject meant it was difficult to place this study in the context of previous work linked to teaching strategies and maids. Therefore, I have made a connection with MTS. In situations where maids replace mothers, findings on MTS have implications which are possibly significant to the focus of this study.

Maids in this study rarely hail from the same culture as their charges; besides, some children in the context of this study will often have a **series** of maids of varied cultural origins (Schaetti 2002; Roumani 2005). Certain cultural groups in the Arabian Gulf often have more than one maid in the household – each possibly holding differing views on interaction with children. These and other factors linked to hired help, such as maids being subject to social constraints and practices (al-Najjar 2001; Jureidini 2003; Roumani 2005) have potential connotations for the maid-child relationship.

I now examine the maid situation in detail.

2.5.1 The Maid Phenomenon (TMP)

TMP is even being referred to in the field of popular news media. Midgley (2007) highlights the fact that Mario Capecchi, a Nobel prize-winner and *super achiever* (ibid.) who was a *feral urchin living off scraps of bread in northern Italy* (ibid.) did

not attend some *hothouse kindergarten collected each day by a Mandarin-speaking nanny*, when she describes his amazing life story in the Times.

Miller (2008), working as a private tutor to children of wealthy London families refers to the housekeeper in one student's family *as having a better idea of what was going on in the boy's life than anyone else*. In 2005, the Gulf News declared that a senior UAE official had admitted that *dependence upon maids had hit an alarming rate* (Zeitoun 2005). In Qatar, the Family Counselling Centre is looking to open more creches as *children are raised by maids* (Hassan 2006). Shaghouri (2005), reports that 58 per cent of UAE national children *are more dependent upon maids than their mothers*. O'Driscoll (2009) discusses health issues related to *Dubai's maid-centred family life*.

The sheer numbers are staggering. For example, from the Philippines alone, in 1995, most of the three and a half million female, Filipino migrants employed worldwide were engaged on the domestic labour front (Parreñas 2001, p.1). Housemaids make up 60 per cent of the total foreign workforce in Kuwait (al Shaibany 2003). Al Hakeem (2007), states that in 2007, between 5,000 and 7,000 Nepalese housemaids were to arrive in Saudi Arabia every month. Macartney (2007) discusses the 400,000 maid vacancies in Beijing alone. Surprisingly, the Kurdistan region in Northern Iraq is even witnessing the hiring of maids: families have two or three maids from Ethiopia, Indonesia or Philippines (Ministry of Education official, *pers. comm.*, November 2007).

Amazingly, it was challenging to access children who did not have a maid in both sample schools, despite the fact that large numbers of children were involved. In fact, in the second school I could only access three children out of 400 without one.

The hired help in the geographical region of this particular study hail solely from developing countries: e.g. India, Indonesia, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka and various African nations.

2.5.2 The Maids

A tendency for whole families to migrate for employment purposes is a characteristic of this mass economic migration (Parreñas 2001, pp.13-14). A similar pattern was evident in Wales in the first half of the 20th century amongst some Welsh families and migrant Irish. My Irish grandmother and her four siblings left Wales for work in the 'big houses' in London when they were 14 years old, often working for the same family; most teenagers in the street took the same path.¹⁹

Interestingly, the women's subject position can change (Parreñas *ibid.* p.250), with some alternating between being responsible for or helping to rear other people's offspring in the new country, to frequently employing even poorer nationals to look after their own children in the country of origin. Many maids leave their own young families behind with grandparents, sisters and friends (Cheever 2002, p.34; Roopnarine and Gielen 2005, p.7; Constantine and Issa 2007). Hondagneau-Sotelo (2001, p.24) and Parreñas (2001, p.116) use the term *transnational motherhood* to describe the way in which millions of women leave their own families in order to

¹⁹ Lutz (2002) discusses several differences between today's FDW and previous hired help.

care for the children of richer people.²⁰

For the most part, these women are driven by absolute financial need and are willing to work for very low salaries in order to provide slightly better lives for themselves (Biggs 1995, p.256; Lutz 2002) and their families and therefore, are very dependent upon and beholden to the families that they work for. Maids are frequently victims of abuse who often live under very difficult conditions (Parreñas 2001, p.49; Constable 2002; Jureidini 2003; Sunderland 2006),²¹ others are appreciated and respected, but **all** are determined to realize their *primary goal of accumulating capital* (Parreñas 2001, p.251).

A search through the archives of local Arabian Gulf newspapers such as The Khaleej Times, The Peninsula and Gulf Times reveals dozens of articles pertaining to maids and the related issues. They range from reports of maids killing children under the pressure of long hours, poor living conditions, abuse and no free time, families killing maids and fears about maids affecting the development and socialization of children: Abdul-Rahman (2005) and Gulf Times reporters (2007a; 2007b) reveal just a few cases.

As within other groups of workers, there is wide diversity amongst maids, an aspect which I now consider.

2.5.3 Diversity amongst Maids

They hail from many countries (Espinoza 2002, pp.275-280 provides detailed maps and charts) ranging from Morocco to the Philippines; stretching from Central America to Albania. The common characteristic is that the countries tend to have poorer economies. Diversity of culture, religion and language, all consequences of the maids' origins, would have some effect on the children in their care and the regional culture (al-Najjar 2001; El-Haddad 2003; Roumani 2005; Zeitoun 2005; Gallant 2006; Al-Jarf 2009).

In my experience teaching Arabic and English speaking children from the Arabian Gulf, I noted that most maids were neither fluent in Arabic nor English; these main carers spoke Tagalog, Bahasa Malay, Tamil or Hindi, for example. Consequently, some children started school at three years old unable to communicate verbally. From a religious perspective, local BEd students I interviewed expressed real concern that the maids were taking Muslim children to church: many maids do not have a day of rest to practise their own faith. I have found some maids to be highly educated, while others come from rural villages where they have received little formal education; Parreñas (2001, p.19), Hondagneau-Sotelo (2001, p.19) validate this. Maids are of varying ages and have previously worked in diverse occupations. They differ in their bonding and emotional ties to the children they care for, a point supported by Hondagneau-Sotelo (ibid. p.26).

Different cultural groups tend to have different expectations as regards closeness and relationships with the families they work for. Filipinas generally prefer to be part of

²⁰ Parreñas (2001 pp.116-149) discusses in detail the problems and lives of *transnational families*. Effects on FDW's children are also debated by Parreñas (2002, pp.39-54).

²¹ Zarembka (2002, pp.142-153) reports on numerous cases of maid abuse that she says have such *predictable patterns* that *there could be an 'Abusers Manual'* in circulation (ibid.).

the family and are not unaccustomed to using this as a way to better their working conditions etc..., whereas Chicanas²², for example, tend to prefer emotional distancing (Parreñas 2001, p.182) in the belief that closeness fosters unequal power relations, putting the employee in a position where they feel unable to negotiate better wages or conditions (ibid. pp.179-180).

Although in the Arabian Gulf maid dependency has reached startling proportions (Zeitoun 2005), indeed, I have observed this tendency in my own professional experience as a teacher, it has been acknowledged as appearing in other regions (Allen 2000; Langford et al. 2002; Schaetti 2002; Poore 2005). Nevertheless, I will now turn to the Arabian Gulf – the geographical focus of this inquiry.

2.5.4 Maids: The Context of the Arabian Gulf

Regular articles in Arabian Gulf media espouse the view that TMP is a worrying trend in affluent areas of the Middle East (Zeitoun 2001; Zeitoun 2005; Youssef and Absal 2008 to name but a few):

"It would be a very rare occurrence to find a national family today without domestic workers who care for their children," Saeedi says. His four children, each with their own maid, have even learned the language of their maids. "That's because they spend so much time with them," says Saeedi. (Youssef 2008, interviews a local parent).

Recently, the Gulf News devoted a whole 'spread' to various articles relating to TMP. Local child expert Sethi Nair (Youssef and Absal 2008) warns that *implications of this structure... are damaging* and that *children will become dependent on others not themselves* (ibid.), a point supported by Ghazi al Gosaibi, Saudi Minister of Labour:

"In this society, the healthy teenager needs a maid to bring him a glass of water that is exactly 10 metres away" (Khaleej Times 2006).

Previously dependent upon traditional skills such as pearl diving and fishing, this region now finds itself as one of the most affluent areas on earth, due to its recent oil and gas revenue, a point supported by Jureidini (2003). To an extent, education has developed *alongside the process of modernisation* (Biggs 1995, p.3). Although affluence has provided the population with opportunities that have greatly increased contact with the outside world, in turn, it has drastically changed the former traditional, Arabian family. Modernization and new found affluence has had an impact on the organization of family life: many nationals employ people from poorer countries to undertake childcare and household duties previously fulfilled within an extended family structure. Although Biggs (ibid. pp.256-257) admits that hiring maids is due in part to increased wealth, it is also *an extension of the system of slaves which existed within the wealthier families of Arabia* (ibid.). Even the late Sheikh Zayed, former President of the UAE, urged citizens to return to traditional and

²²A native-born, American female of Mexican descent - rather than a female, Mexican national residing in the United States.

religious family values (Biggs *ibid.* p.258.).

The *inexpensive and easily accessible* (Roumani 2005) supply of non-qualified, hired help acting as the main carer for Arabian Gulf children is *the social norm* (*ibid.*). Laws that restrict the number of maids in expatriate households in certain Gulf countries do not apply to local families. Nevertheless, alongside the glut of local families who employ maids, the majority of expatriates – Arabic, Asian and Western included, who usually take up residence without the extended family support that they may have received in their own countries, depend upon at least one maid and often a driver per family (Roumani 2005; Rose 2007).

Thus, it appears that the Arabian Gulf has generally evolved from being a British protectorate, with an underdeveloped economy completely dominated by males, to a wealthy region competing for a place in the global economy where women work, are becoming more educated and have greater rights. Skills linked to fishing, herding and diving and transferred within family groups have become defunct. Furthermore, most Arabian Gulf countries are extremely dependent upon all kinds of expatriate labour (Kapiszewski 2006), and are witnessing a constantly increasing flood of expatriates, hence the subsequent need to establish more international schools and an apparent increase in the arrival of maids.

A report by El-Haddad (2003) suggests opposition to phasing out maids in the Arabian Gulf is strong. The author claims that the use of maids in this geographical area has more to do with a culture resulting from increased affluence, than out of sheer necessity. He demonstrates concern about the *negative connotations* (*ibid.* p.5) that the maid situation fosters for children's social development and also for the lack of maids' child-care training. This fear is documented in UNICEF reports (2002; 2003; 2003a) with concerns pertaining to maids bringing up children in various countries throughout the region. In 2007, His Highness Sheikh Mohammad bin Rashid Al Maktoum, Vice-President and Prime Minister of the UAE and ruler of Dubai, expressed great concern for the topic, stating that *domestic help in some families exceeds the size of the family itself* (Al Baik and Sankar 2007).

Biggs (1995, pp.256-257) discusses the fact that maids are indeed raising children; far from decreasing this trend seems to be on the increase (*ibid.*), a point supported by the research of Roumani (2005) and raised by some educators in my interviews.

References in this section are used not in judgment of any group of people, but are intended to highlight the amount of concern in the region as regards the effect of FDW.

Arguably, positive and negative consequences arise from such developments, one of which might be that for some children of wealthy families, care by parents or extended family has been, to some extent, replaced by that of FDW, with certain concerns for the development of the children in their care, an issue discussed below.

2.6 Potential Concerns Arising from the Hiring of Maids

People become highly skilled in performing tasks they engage in often (Cole 1996, p.74).

Michael Cole studied the Kpelle tribe in situations where they used mathematics as part of their essential everyday functioning, and he also studied how adults arranged for their children to competently grasp knowledge and skills (ibid. pp74-75). The results indicated that people *develop cultural tools and... cognitive skills* when they are actually important to central life (ibid. p76). For children who are dependent upon maids, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the opposite may be possible i.e. children relinquish skills that are not important to them or that are unnecessary for everyday practice. If practice makes perfect as Cole suggests (ibid. p74), what happens in the case of children whose maids transfer total control to themselves?

Showing concern about this growing trend affecting children's development in various ways, Biggs (1995, p.256) cites Laila Helmi a UAE Ministry of Education psychologist who mentions *environmental linguistic confusion* arising from the increased reliance on maids. Referring to the fact that many maids are illiterate, Biggs (ibid.) illustrates other related problems - poor language development, increased attachment, lack of stability and continuity (maids often stay for short periods) and one of the penalties for the use of maids as substitute mothers is poor behaviour amongst young children (ibid. pp.257-258). From my experience, I would include a lack of family structure with no clearly defined adult roles, which can also lead to disrespect for parents and other adults. In one extreme case, I witnessed very interesting behaviour. At the age of three, a particular child only interacted in the kitchen role play area; his family have four maids but his maid was also the family cook. When he was four, he regularly insisted on doing things for others: he carried chairs around the classroom for his peers, dressed them for swimming and insisted on fetching my lunch from my office every day. He appeared to emulate maid behaviour.

Discussing the hierarchy and general stigma attached to maids, even when paid a decent salary, Ehrenreich (2002, p.101) points out that *children learn pretty quickly... that some people are less worthy than others* (ibid. pp.101-102). Biggs (1995) questions whether or not children who treat maids in an inappropriate way transfer this behaviour to expatriate teachers, particularly those who originate from Arab countries. An Arabic teacher in my background interviews highlighted this point.

Ehrenreich suggests that certain groups of children:

...raised in the servant economy of the twenty first century will become... domestically incompetent... and dependent on others to clean up after them (ibid.).

Children often learn basic life skills through watching parents – diminution of this could be transferred through the generations and could become quite *lethal and disabling* (Ehrenreich 2002, p.100). Ehrenreich (2002, p.102) warns that the *servant*

economy teaches children that others pick up after them and likens it to having the same effect as violent video games, in that the consequences of certain actions and behaviour have been abolished:

To be cleaned up after is to achieve a certain magical weightlessness and immateriality (Ehrenreich *ibid.*).

If the fact that cleaning up after children leads to domestic helplessness and is disabling, as Ehrenreich indicates, it is realistic to ask, ‘What other consequences are there for children who are reliant upon maids?’

While gathering data for this study, I was witness to remarkable revelations – such as the 16 year old British girl previously dependent upon maids, who put a lettuce in the oven and boiled milk in the kettle when she had to fend for herself; the perceived effects extend into adulthood - the Emirati adult BEd student who has her maid pack her college bags every morning; the man who had the school bus-stop sign dug up and replaced outside his house so that his maid or wife would not have far to walk. Others were tinged with sadness – the four year old child who was distraught when his maid - his main carer from the day he was born, left. The family gave him no warning, yet *she* had been the one to get up in the night when he had a bad dream, who attended to him when he was sick; in all effects his mother.

Although the issues of attachment and learned helplessness do not stem from the theories that I use in this thesis, and are not my main focus, they clearly warrant a mention as they have been discussed in the small amount of literature related to maids in my context (Schaetti 2002; Roumani 2005; Hayden 2006).

2.6.1 Attachment and Maids

Attachment theory, developed from the basis of psycho-dynamic theory by Bowlby (Schore and Schore 2008), but is more recently used in socio-cognitive terms (de Ruiter and van Ijzendoorn 1993).

On a simplistic level, attachment theory (discussed in de Ruiter and van Ijzendoorn 1993; Schaetti 2002; Bombér 2007, pp.18-45) is generally understood as *a relationship between an infant and his or her primary caregiver* (Schaetti 2002, p.100). The primary carer responds to a child’s needs and behaviour and this fosters an attachment. The attachment needs to be continuous or it could lead to an ‘insecure’ attachment as opposed to a ‘secure’ one (*ibid.* p101). In cases where the mother has been more or less replaced by the maid, the closeness can lead to ‘*familial*’ attachment (Parreñas 2001, p.186), with the carer assuming maternal surrogacy.

Pertinent to my context, what happens when the maid who is often the primary carer leaves the family or the family leaves her (Cheever 2002; Schaetti 2002; Roumani 2005)? One Arabic speaking, Qatari family were at the airport with their maid who was returning home. As she left, the child began screaming and pleading with her in Hindi not to leave him behind (Peninsula Reporter 2006). Huge implications frequently result in a child’s feeling of grief (Schaetti 2002, p.112 elaborates). Roumani in her study ‘Maids in Arabia’ (2005) deems there to be *a very harmful effect on children* when maids change and in cases where having a maid is essential

advises that continuity of care is vital. She also believes that a variety of attachment disorders can be present when children spend too long with maids. A similar question that naturally emerges is: How will international children who have experienced maid intervention cope emotionally and socially without a maid if and when they return to their countries of origin?

On the other hand, McKillop-Ostrom (2000, p.74) states that children in international schools who lead transient lives adapt to their mobility *leaving very few people from whom they cannot walk away*. However, Bombér (2007) refers to a study which suggests securely attached infants do better in many areas (ibid. p.20-21, citing Levy 1998). She insists that when children have experienced loss of somebody that they have been attached to such as this, home school partnership is vital (ibid. p.252). Whether or not attachment becomes a facilitator or barrier for *socially mediated cognitive development* (de Ruiter and van Ijzendoorn 1993), depends upon the quality of attachment, making it a vital factor in cognitive development based on Vygotskian theory.

I now briefly examine ‘learned helplessness’ as a result of overzealous intervention of maids, who because of their position might answer to the child’s every whim.

2.6.2 A Form of Learned Helplessness

*“When it was time to clean up I said, ‘Right, let’s put everything away – clean everything up.’ A few children collected **all** of the paint brushes and threw them in the bin! The palettes followed! Others sat there. I actually could not believe what I had seen. I am talking about children in KS2.”*
(International school Art teacher interviewed, 2007).

The idea of learned helplessness originated in the 60s and 70s by Seligman (Gordon and Gordon 1996) from his control experiments with animals. Simply stated, it tends to create problems with cognitive, emotional and motivational learning and has negative effects on the desire to learn (ibid.). While I do not wish to make an assumption that potential ‘maid syndrome’ is a blueprint of the typical account of learned helplessness, it appears to have commonalities such as a tendency to adopt passive learning where the learner completely depends upon other people for guidance and direction, and from my experience often a lack of motivation. One wonders about the consequences of such helplessness and as to whether or not it will result in a *marked lack of persistence in the face of failure* (Siraj-Blatchford 1999, p.39, refers to Dweck 1991) if, for example, children rely on the maid for basic tasks.

Furthermore, Clay (1986, in Gordon and Gordon 1996) believes that the difference between an event-produced helplessness and a disability is immaterial as they have the same effect. Debatably, if the presence of maids insisting on doing everything for the child is an embedded practice it could produce some sort of helplessness. It has not been unknown in certain international schools for the maids to come in and feed primary age children. From evidence given by an Arabic teacher in my background research, similar reliant behaviour is also common place in some local schools. Certain colleges in the region have stopped maids staying all day as they were

catering for the needs and whims of the adult students²³. Recently, a colleague recounted how he was teaching a class of adult Arabian Gulf students in college, and was getting very animated describing something that had happened. The class were listening intently when one of them, a 19 year old married student shouted out “Teacher – story! Teacher - story!” She was pointing at the floor. Her book had fallen on the floor and she wanted him to find it and pick it up.

Although I have mentioned some concerns pertaining to maid reliance, on the other hand, it may also be reasonable to ask: Do maids have skills that teachers do not have? Just as parents have skills and knowledge which go unrecognised by teachers (Hughes 1996, p.98), it is equally possible that a similar situation could exist where maids are concerned. Wood, Wood and Middleton (1978) claim that teaching strategies often considered as controlling, for example modelling and direct instruction, can indeed be used successfully to teach specific tasks and skills. One parent interviewee was keen to share how she believed that having a maid helped her child develop a second language. Parents also felt that maids were patient with their children, and they thought that having someone from a different culture enabled the family to have positive experiences that they would not otherwise have.

Even if it transpires that hired help is culturally embedded amongst children in this study as Roumani (2005) suggests, there may be a need to question if it is appropriate for international educators to impose any change in cultural practices of groups of people. Wang et al. (2005) highlight that effective teaching is dependent upon the context and culture and that as teachers we should familiarize ourselves with cultural characteristics and adapt our teaching to fit.

Losey (1995) suggests in avoiding ignorant prejudice and judgemental value laden assumptions, it is vital that we do not stereotype students – in this case international students in a particular geographical area; the needs of the individual also require consideration. However, it could be argued that in the situation where children appear to be totally dependent upon hired help, there is a critical need to empower them thus enabling them to acquire independence skills for inquiry based learning, to access certain curricula and function appropriately in the classroom. Although, as Tudge et al. (2009) suggest, *what counts as evidence for a successful transition to school is... likely to vary...* depending on what world view is taken within the research. However, certain research suggests *the higher the quality of the childcare experience, the better children do following school entry* (ibid.), with corresponding results for a child coming directly from a home environment (ibid.).

According to Hayden (2006, p.7), many international schools in general are having difficulty coping with the pragmatic needs of modern life. Possibly, the maid phenomenon could be a sign of modern times in certain areas; Lutz (2002) would certainly suggest this. In reality, its existence might be something that has to be acknowledged and considered, rather than ignored or condemned. Thus, possible implications for national policy makers in affluent regions and those involved in international schools in the context of this study could exist.

²³It needs to be noted that having a chaperone can be a cultural expectation for women in the Arabian Gulf.

My interest in this area is not purely to collect data that would support staff room beliefs, but also to discover if and how teachers can work sensitively and successfully in such situations, to reveal implications for policy - whether in international or host country schools in affluent areas, and to highlight any potential necessity to create an intervention programme. It is also considerably relevant to my professional setting (Robson 2002).

Summary

In summary, the literature reviewed attempts to illustrate that:

- Culture is dependent upon the way that different groups of people view the world.
- It can be regarded as a human cognitive process – thus the relationship between culture and mind.
- Studying social practices and tools such as routines and schema is essential when examining development through a cultural approach.
- Different schools generate different cultures; international school students, such as those from my sample schools often represent diverse cultures.
- Drawing on children's culture and funds of knowledge that they bring from home is vital.
- Adults influence children's perceptions of the world and mediate their learning.
- Interaction stemming from mother/child bonds influences the child and mediates the culture.
- Maternal teaching strategies appear to be culturally embedded and can affect potential achievement; certain styles encourage certain traits.

In the context of this study, where maids might have a considerable role in rearing children, or even replacing mothers as the main carer and as such will be mediating the culture, these facts will have significant implications. Hiring of maids is particularly prevalent in prosperous areas such as the Arabian Gulf (Biggs 1995; al-Najjar 2001) and is a globally increasing practice (Lutz 2002; Colombo 2007).

I have also briefly highlighted some concerns which appear to arise from literature and anecdotal evidence, including poor language development, attachment issues, domestic helplessness and lack of independence skills - a factor that I have linked to learned helplessness. Although not exactly epitomizing the learned helplessness defined by Seligman (in Gordon and Gordon 1996) and Dweck (1991, in Siraj-Blatchford 1999, p.39), there is arguably a degree of anecdotal evidence to suggest that some sort of helplessness might manifest itself. In turn, learned helplessness could inhibit the development of skills such as those listed in Chapter 3 on page 45.

This particular study required a framework that would help determine any perceived social and educational consequences as a result of differences in pedagogic practice of the home and the school, as a result of maid intervention. I needed to consider a situation where there are changes in the cultural circumstances due to the intervention of the maids, plus, the cultural embeddedness of everyday practices in both settings. I therefore planned a primarily qualitative study, selecting sociocultural theory and activity theory as a theoretical framework from which to design the inquiry, and to carry out the analysis. The framework is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

SOCIOCULTURAL AND ACTIVITY THEORY

Introduction

What we learn will depend on the psychological tools available to us and which tools are available will depend upon the culture we live in. Our thoughts, our actions, and our experiences are culturally mediated (Nicholl, 1998).

Renowned theorists such as Vygotsky (Daniels et al. 1996; Hallam and Ireson 1999, p.74; Edwards 2003; Meadows 2004) and Bruner (Davies 1999, p.81; Moore 2000, pp.22-25) insist that knowledge and skills are sociocultural formations. Consequently, a child's learning is shaped by family and environmental culture, which generally, but not always, includes formal schooling. This philosophy underpins my inquiry.

In the previous chapter, I emphasized the need for this study to consider the cultural effects on learning, the cultural embeddedness of everyday practice in the home and the school, plus the intervention of the maids. Thus, it required a theoretical framework which would accomplish this. This chapter, therefore, considers a framework which emerges from Vygotsky's sociocultural theory and Engeström's activity theory (AT), as a lens to examine what is happening across the different learning contexts of the home and the school. The two combine well because AT is driven by sociocultural means.

Sociocultural theory is:

...a theory of mind... that recognizes the central role that social relationships and culturally constructed artifacts play in organizing uniquely human forms of thinking (Thorne 2005, refers to Lantolf 2004).

Highlighting the social and cultural aspects of learning, Vygotskian theory paved the way for Engeström's concept of analysis which concentrates on analyzing joint activity rather than merely examining an individual's goal driven activity (Daniels 2008, pp.122-123). Sociocultural theory perceives learning and development to be mediated by such tools as speech, whereas Engeström's 'interpretation' of AT views learning as also being mediated by context, thus it investigates the people involved in the activity, the object of the activity, the rules, and the way in which the task is shared in each setting. This was particularly helpful, as it enabled me to explore aspects which, I believe, were pertinent to the study of each context.

First, the chapter sets the scene by examining metaphors of learning. After reflecting on the term 'pedagogy', it focuses upon the work of Vygotsky, drawing on post-

Vygotskian pedagogy and exploring social and cultural aspects of learning, before considering AT in some detail.

3.1 A Model of Learning for the Research

In this thesis, I needed a theory of learning which was compatible with my aim. In an attempt to address this, I briefly explore aspects related to learning.

Although *learning is a basic, adaptive function of humans* (Bransford et al. 1999, p.xi), various definitions exist (Gipps and MacGilchrist 1999; Hallam and Ireson 1999). Contemporary thinking about learning includes notions that were not previously considered, such as metaphors of learning (Sfard 1998; Paavola and Hakkarainen 2005; Simons and Ruijters 2008).

3.1.1 Metaphors of Learning

Sfard (1998) details an alternative way of understanding learning and development – namely, through metaphors of learning as featured below:

Learning as Acquisition

The first metaphor refers to the learning which occurs in the human mind as a result of the transmission of knowledge; it has little to do with the cultural, contextual or social (Paavola and Hakkarainen 2005). This view combines the characteristics of behaviourist learning theory together with some tenets of constructivist theory.

Learning as Participation

The second interpretation represents learning linked to participating in communities of practice. People are regarded as learning with and from one another; learning is social. Groups, teams, interaction with surroundings and culture are features considered in this particular metaphor.

However, Paavola and Hakkarainen (ibid.) argue that there is a need for a third metaphorical interpretation – a ‘*triological*’ approach – that of knowledge creation:

Learning as transformation or knowledge creation is regarded as aiding understanding and enabling creation of new knowledge (ibid.). This view emphasizes how people actually collaborate to promote individual and social change or transformation. One way of addressing knowledge creation they suggest is through Engeström’s AT which enables reflection on current practices, generates change and creates new forms of activity (ibid.).

In my context, knowledge is being made in the activity of the maids and children in a social setting as in participatory learning, with the maid possibly doing most of the participation. The social situation means that the maids’ behaviour is also transforming children. However, any contradictions which arise in the two activity settings of the home and the school might imply a need to create a new form of activity; thus further transformational learning - creating new ‘alternative’ knowledge would be essential.

Learning as acquisition is not the interpretation that I require, to represent the cultural and contextual links to learning, and the creation of new knowledge.

Therefore, for the most part, this study is concerned with learning as participation and transformation.

Similarly, I have made the assumption that learning is not purely innate, fixed or individual, but rather more mediated by cultural tools and context. Although considered as being located in the field of cognitive development (Jarvis et al. 2003, pp.32, 41), social constructivist theory clearly draws attention to the *social, cultural and historical influences on individual development* (Daniels 2001, p.39). Hence, I believe, it relates to the cultural and social basis being investigated, exploring potential differences in how learning takes place in the home and the school.

Before turning to this theory, I wish to deviate a little, to clarify the reason for the use of the term *pedagogy* in the main question.

3.1.2 Pedagogy

It may be questionable as to why I am using the term pedagogy in relation to anything outside of formal school learning. Indeed, one present day meaning is generally associated with teaching and learning styles and context and often called the science of teaching (Daniels 2001, p.4 discusses Best 1988).

However, in this thesis, I wish to adopt the meaning used by Daniels (2008, p.153) when he refers to *pedagogy in human interaction*, which has implications for the child and maid situation.

Daniels regards pedagogy as having a more comprehensive meaning:

Social relations which serve to mediate processes of individual transformations and change are pedagogic relations (Daniels 2001, p.175),

and he views teaching and learning as:

...much more than face-to-face interaction or... transcription of prescribed knowledge (ibid. p.2).

Discussing pedagogy in detail, Daniels (ibid. pp.3-7) adopts Bernstein's definition (1999), which considers *cognitive and affective matters...* and which *influences the formation of identity as well as outcomes* such as test scores (Daniels 2001, p.1).

Referring to pedagogy in its broader term as suggested by Daniels, I therefore attempt to discover what is happening with learning and pedagogy in both situations of the home and the school, in essence, to *understand the processes* of 'education' which permits *...a broad range of influences and outcomes* (Daniels ibid.). This definition, as Daniels (ibid. p.6) suggests, deals with more than the mere acquisition of skills and knowledge.

So far, I have indicated that learning has a variety of meanings, acknowledged the existence of metaphors linked to key theories and looked at a different view of pedagogy. Due to the nature of this study, it is with Vygotsky's social constructivist theory that my interest manifests itself and which I now attempt to summarize.

3.2 Social Constructivist Theory

The theory of Russian psychologist Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky, regarded as *one of the greatest psychologists of the first half of the twentieth century* (Davydov and Zinchenko 1994, p.93), well recognised in his native country, though repressed at times due to the political situation, has only recently reached the forefront in the West. While Piaget largely saw the child as operating alone, Vygotsky viewed teaching and learning as being socially rooted, considering the importance and effect of the social context more than anybody had previously.²⁴

Although translated from Russian, thus presenting a possible disparity with the original study, scholars generally agree that Vygotsky's theory was mainly based upon cognitive development and its relationship to language and other cultural tools (Tilstone and Layton 2004, p.27).

Emphasizing the significance of the cultural and social contexts in learning, Vygotsky regarded cognitive development as a process dependent upon social interaction (Daniels et al. 1996; Alfrey and Durell 2003, p.9; Daniels 2005) a notion underpinning his whole theory. Focusing highly on the relation between humans and the sociocultural context in which they operate, this theory presumes agency in the process of 'coming to know' (Gipps and MacGilchrist 1999, p.48): children learn when interacting with their environment rather than in isolation (Daniels 2001). Consequently, they grasp socially constructed, psychological tools from their own culture, which evolves over time and is handed down from generation to generation and is, therefore, very much bound by history.

Vygotsky's work was not without critique (Moore 2000, p.19-22, 30; Daniels 2001, p.61; Liu and Matthews 2005). Issues include little account of the use of language to regulate interpersonal relation, too obvious a distinction made between the scientific and everyday learning and no real account of institutional regulation. In reality, an education system firmly embedded in the Vygotskian theory would result in major implications for schools, which rightly or wrongly would include a complete re-think in the way they operate and have implications for pedagogy.

Involving a 'more capable other', Vygotsky's findings and subsequent theory indicate that teaching and learning processes should be classed as more than simply transmission of knowledge.²⁵ While pinpointing a starting place for Vygotsky's work is not straightforward, the main points appear to mesh together, I attempt to illustrate the key ideas.

Before Vygotsky, no researcher had fully acknowledged that cultural, social and historical elements all have a bearing upon human cognition, or development was mediated by socially constructed tools; research had indeed occurred in quite artificial circumstances (Daniels, 2005). This concept of *mediation* - one of Vygotsky's main ideas, suggested that humans utilize tools such as speech, written language or signs, to mediate their social environment. The works of Daniels (2001; 2005; 2008) suggest that Vygotsky's interest was very much manifested in the way in which humans acquired, or indeed, were prevented from acquiring these tools.

²⁴ Further similarities and differences to Piaget's work are documented (Moore 2000, pp.14-15; Cook 2001, pp.6, 21; Daniels 2001, pp.37-39; Jarvis et al. 2003, p.36).

²⁵ A detailed overview with particular reference to pedagogy is offered by Daniels (2001, pp.30-68).

Vygotsky viewed cognitive development as a process of a human being's (or subject's) relationship with the environment (or object) mediated by tools:

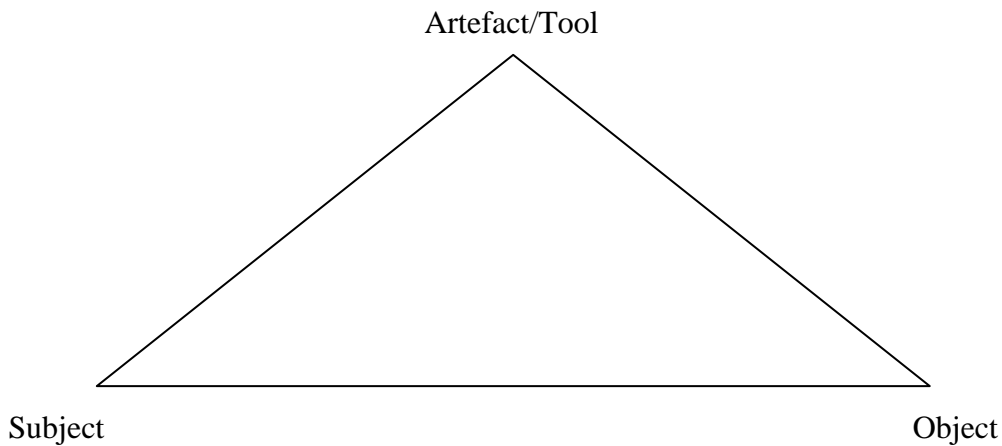


Figure 3.A Vygotsky's Model of Mediation in Sociocultural Theory

Not unlike the views of Piaget, Vygotsky believed that learning occurred through internalizing thoughts that the child had gained from an external source. However, his *general genetic law of cultural development* (Daniels 2005) implied that sociocultural participation was central to his notion of development as a mediated process: learning occurs first through dialogue in a social context (interpersonal), and then 'inside' the child – the intrapersonal, ensuring that what starts out as language ends in thought and generates a change in behaviour (Vygotsky 1981, p. 163). Holzman (2006a) actually links this to participation and internalizing *social-cultural-historical forms of activity*. Egocentric speech was perceived by Vygotsky as a transitional step from social speech to internalizing thoughts, therefore leading to another of his ideas that language and thought co-exist and result in higher order thinking skills. However, Wertsch (1985) regards internalization as more of a process of appropriation: internalized then transformed.

The environment is also modified, through mediated activity: Engeström and Miettinen portray internalization as reproducing culture and subsequently in turn, externalization as the *creation of artifacts... used to transform culture* (Daniels 2001, p.44) thus suggesting a process of absorbing culture and reciprocally constructing it through socially constituted activities. Similarly, Engeström's third generation model of AT suggests conflict and tensions occurring in an activity tend to modify the environment, thus changing and developing it (ibid. p.94).

To fully appreciate 'learning' from a Vygotskian viewpoint, fundamental principles of the scientific and everyday learning and the zone of proximal development (ZPD) are considered.

The aspect of scientific and everyday learning appears to support using funds of knowledge from everyday situations, in classroom learning. Vygotsky believed that cognitive development occurred through everyday activity and also through formal teaching situations such as school (Vygotsky 1987, p.169). Arguing that the scientific strands of learning eventually become entrenched in the everyday actions

and permeate everyday thought, Vygotsky insisted that when these strands merge, mature concepts are reached. For a child to acquire real thought and understanding, Vygotsky emphasized participatory teaching of scientific strands to access concepts meaningfully (Daniels 2005) as opposed to merely transmitting facts.

Both strands were regarded by Vygotsky as being quite distinct, although mutually dependent and connected (Moll 1992, p10), which has led to some criticism from educationalists such as Moore (2000, p.10), who credits Bruner with developing Vygotsky's work on culture, claiming that regard for the cultural context of teaching and learning was vital. Bruner placed more emphasis on home and parent input in the cognitive and linguistic development of the child (Moore *ibid.* p.23), and emphasized a possible mismatch between school and out of school environments (*ibid.*), issues that would have implications for this particular study.

Clearly linked to the general genetic law of development and providing further potential for developing psychological tools, Vygotsky claimed, was the ZPD. The ZPD is often described as the distance between the actual development and the potential development; the child is able to reach his potential with the help of a 'more capable other'. Vygotsky used the ZPD, one of the main domains of his work, to explain the interactional part of the cognitive process. Social interaction was deemed as pivotal in supporting and mediating learning whether through aided assessment or scaffolding instruction (Daniels 2001, pp.56-68; 2005).

Emphasizing the magnitude of the adult-child dyadic relationship in learning, Wells (1999) describes two forms of ZPD – one the dynamic assessment of a child's cognitive potential and the other through instruction which should ideally precede the child's development. The interpretation of the ZPD which focuses on adult-child interaction, has prompted interest and research on the nature of 'social' and the qualities of interaction (Daniels 2001, p.59).

Vygotsky's basic model of mediation in sociocultural theory may not have fully represented the social context. While Vygotsky's ideas have yet to be entirely fulfilled, his work has proved to be a catalyst for others (Bernstein 1994, p.xxii), and has unmistakably instigated insights into the link between context, culture and learning (Pollard 1994, p.176). Approaches from Vygotsky's frame of social formation of mind such as sociocultural theory (Wertsch), sociocultural activity theory (Leont'ev, Engeström, Cole), situated learning (Lave and Wenger) and distributed learning (Salomon, Hutchins) have all supported a connection between context and learning (Daniels 2001, p.70) a position which I embrace in this study. I therefore turn to certain interpretations some of which relate to this particular context.

3.3 Post-Vygotskians and Various Interpretations

Vygotsky's theory has undeniably enabled other researchers to take:

...a more general theoretical drift towards a broader, more cultural and historical view of the 'social'... (Daniels 2005).

In fact, a number of approaches for examining cognition in context have emerged from Vygotsky's work (Daniels 2001, p.95). For instance, although Vygotsky was

instrumental in bringing the ZPD to light, various interpretations now exist (Daniels 2005). Bruner's ideas of 'scaffolding' supported Vygotsky's notion of ZPD (Bullock and Wikeley 2004, p.65), and was regarded with the utmost importance with the adult withdrawing at the point of competency (Alfrey and Durell 2003, p.11). Lave and Wenger (1996, p.143) *roughly classify* the ZPD into three categories: 'scaffolding', where the more capable other provides initial support allowing for independent follow up; 'cultural interpretation' referring to the distance between the instructive knowledge and the everyday cultural knowledge of the individual, and a third interpretation – that of the 'collectivist' or 'societal' notion, which is embedded in everyday practice.

Tharp and Gallimore (1991, pp.43-58), have developed Vygotsky's line of thinking by placing an importance on negotiation and assistance of the more capable other when it is required (ibid). Debate on whether or not the 'scaffold' should be negotiated continues (Daniels 2001).

Like Vygotsky, Davydov and Zinchenko (Evans 1994, p.33) emphasize that pedagogy should be based upon what the child can know tomorrow, and not what he knew yesterday. Of significance to this study, Gallimore and Tharp (1992) regard the assistance of a more capable other in the ZPD as not necessarily having to emerge from actual verbal interaction and mention such means as instruction, modelling and questioning.

To summarize, post-Vygotskians regard learning as going beyond the individual. They argue that it involves shared culturally developed tools, is situated in a particular cultural environment (situated learning) and is distributed amongst community members (distributed cognition). I now consider the latter two concepts which I believe have some relevance for this particular context.

3.3.1 Situated Learning and Distributed Cognition

The growing body of research on mediated action has signified that learning is actually distributed and situated (Cole 1996, p.341). In essence, cognitive development occurs within contextual situations *relative to the context in which it occurs* (Edwards 2003) and is seen as the result of situations which are culturally generated. This provides further support that learning is subject not only to the particular situation in which it occurs, but is also subject to the embedded beliefs, social conventions and tools.

Linked to the ZPD (Lave and Wenger 1999, p.22), situated cognition enables the learner to gradually participate in sociocultural practice in communities of practice. The pivotal point is engaging in the practice (ibid.) - often *little observable teaching* (ibid.) occurs. Proponents of situated cognition emphasize forms of authentic activity (Cook 2001, p.6) and the notion of problem solving figures highly in this learning, with various studies referring to the fact that we *use different kind of knowledge in various situations* (ibid.). Furthermore, Edwards (2003) refers to Rogoff's notion of learning occurring on *three interactive planes of influence*; not only interpersonal and intrapersonal, but a third influence - *community/institutional – the contextual* (ibid.).

Cognition is also distributed (Daniels 2001, p.70 refers to Salomon), providing a further connection with Vygotsky's idea of interpersonal and intrapersonal. Salomon

(ibid.) portrays learning as a shared activity distributed amongst individuals, whether in close proximity or by distance. Distributed cognition was developed in the 1990s by Edwin Hutchins (von Thaden 2000) who believed that learning and knowledge is distributed, not confined to one person, and is an essential factor for humans to function (Daniels 2001, p.70); communities actually depend upon the learning being distributed. It is based upon the belief that:

All human societies face cognitive tasks that are beyond the capabilities of any individual member (Hutchins 1995, in Daniels 2001).

Situated learning and distributed cognition are both entrenched in Vygotskian ideals, and are *in many senses inextricably linked* (Daniels 2005 elaborates).

In this particular case, the learning might not be only situated in two different contexts, the home and the school, but it could be distributed differently. In school, the maximum independence is usually called for. This might be in contrast to the home situation; anecdotal evidence has indicated that maids tend to do everything for the child, sometimes to the point of completing the child's 'homework'; therefore, the cultural underpinnings of one context are different to the other.

Key factors of Vygotsky's theory indicate that adults significantly influence children's perceptions of the world (Alfrey and Durell 2003, p.11), therefore, it is essential that they acknowledge and share the children's view of the world, to enable them to build on previous understanding. I am not entirely convinced that this is happening in either context. From my experience, teachers' comments signify that they can misinterpret the exact extent of any potential consequences of maid influence, often simply regarding maid children as lazy. To take Cole's weaving metaphor (1996), there is little concept that children could be subject to and affected by the embedded practices, rules and routines outside school. Similarly, maids and families may not always consider that the child needs to operate differently in school. The different cultural groups have different ideas about teaching and learning – ideas which are culturally embedded.

Many post-Vygotskians tend to see cognitive development being underpinned by sociocultural activity theory. Steeped in the work of Vygotsky, AT has been developed by theorists in the field - Leont'ev, Cole and more recently Engeström. An AT framework is appropriate for examining the context thus its use in this study; further discussion follows.

3.4 Activity Theory (AT)

There is increasing interest in both 'sociocultural theory' and 'activity theory' (Daniels 2005). Both theories seek to provide an account of learning as a *mediated process* (ibid.). However, whereas sociocultural theory emphasizes mediation through tools such as signs or speech (semiotics), for AT, the importance is placed on the practice or context, highlighting the socioculturally defined activity and action as underpinning all (ibid.).

The emphasis for activity theorists is... on the psychological impacts of organized activity and the social conditions and

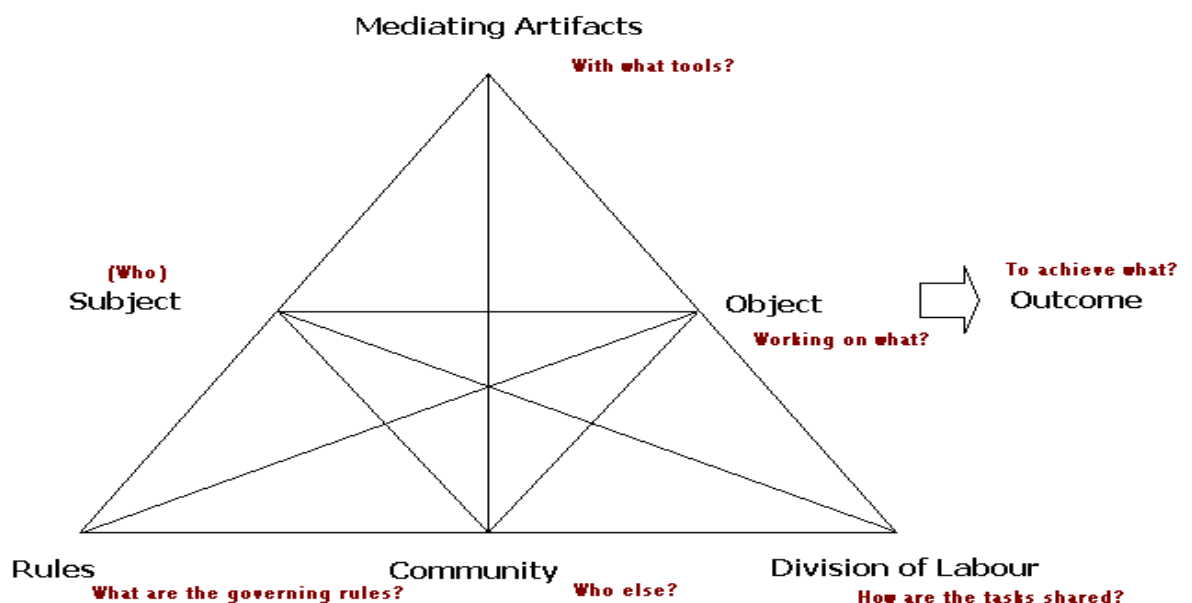
systems which are produced in and through such activity
(Daniels 2001, p.84).

Thus, through participation in socially organized activities, activity systems are created where actors and tools become integrated and attention is also paid to the community, rules and the way in which the task or labour is divided.

Although located in the work of Vygotsky, AT has grown somewhat from the efforts of other socioculturalists (Meadows 2004, p.176) as mentioned below.

In the second generation of AT, Leont'ev framed his answer to how humans differentiate from animals, around the idea of activity; he originated the idea of activity as a systemic formation and saw the whole activity as being driven by a motive (Daniels 2001, p.86). Leont'ev viewed activity as a collective process with goal orientated actions.

Engeström's model expanded upon the Vygotskian idea of mediation and Leont'ev's motive driven model of activity theory (*Figure 3B*). Highlighting the individual **and** the community Engeström placed even greater emphasis on context (Daniels 2001, p.89; Engeström 2001). He developed previous models by including rules, community (or people involved) and the division of labour (or way in which tasks are shared), then analyzing their combined interaction, which, he regarded as representing the socially collective aspects of activity. Engeström's latest representation includes contradictions that emerge from the activity system, which, he insists are the driving force behind change (Daniels 2001, p.89; Engeström 2001).



(Engeström (1987) adapted by Edwards et al. 2009)

Figure 3.B Engeström's Model of AT (used to analyze and interpret the data)

Although Vygotsky's theory and the work of post-Vygotskians has led to clear emphasis on the importance of context in the learning process, Daniels (2005) states that context still *remains under-theorised and its effects... under-researched*, while

agreeing that those *working within the field... draw on the traditions* of both activity theory and mediated action *with the distinction becoming increasingly blurred* (Daniels 2001, p.85).

Despite increased interest in context, Cole (1996) maintains that in general, insensitivity towards cultural diversity still exists. After carrying out research into the consequences that culture has upon learning and emphasizing the significance of each culturally specific context and situation, Cole highlighted potential for challenges between different cultures. Cultural links to cognition are mainly located in *practical activities... and cultural tools* (Miller 1999). In general, culturally related studies suggest that learning is culturally specific, depends on one's context or world (Scribner and Cole 1981; Cole 1992; Scribner 1997) and needs to be understood as such (Cole 1996). Cole (1999, in Daniels 2001, p.90) highlights Engeström's single activity system as not allowing for the diversity which exists in many situations. Engeström acknowledges this point and regards it as challenging (ibid.); thus, the development of Engeström's model of AT, which allows for different networks of activity and stresses tensions and contradictions (ibid. pp.91-93). In my study, many activity systems clearly exist due to the diversity of the situation and I have taken this into account by attempting to model as many relevant activities as possible, and by including diverse groups of participants.

Regardless, AT does broaden *the notion of context* (Young and Lucas 1999, p.110). Allowing deeper exploration and insight into how learning is mediated not only by tools or artefacts, but actually shaped by several factors – those of the rules, community and even in the way in which the labour is divided, it enables an examination of context within context (ibid.). In this study it has not only shed light on the context of the behaviour of the maids but has allowed me to attempt to discover what is happening in both situations. It has helped me to move closer to understanding the implications of home upbringing in relation to maids and investigating if this frustrates the goals of formal education: examining orientations to learning in different cultural worlds.

3.5 Implications for this Research

The facts presented clearly indicate that socioculturalists assume agency in the process of 'coming to know'; they see the individual as being engaged in relational activities with others, the more capable other, for example.

Furthermore, Tilstone and Layton suggest (2004, p.30) *external cultural forces create human intellectual functioning*, thus, environmental features will impact upon learning, resulting in the importance not only of the school, but of the role of the family and society in providing a framework for the child's development. This notion, coupled with the fact that:

...learners construct their own meanings, beginning with the beliefs, understandings, and cultural practices they bring to the classroom... (Bransford et al. 1999, p.122),

indicates possible implications and challenges for some children who have maids.

If:

...early mother-child teaching interactions lay the foundations for future academic success (Moreno 2002),

what happens when a maid who has a tendency to do everything for children in her care takes the role of the mother? For some children who attend certain international schools, such as in wealthy regions of the Arabian Gulf, the more capable other could possibly be a maid from a developing country, who might not be fluent in the language of the home or the school and who may hold very differing values and views to both school and home. Taking into account the theories discussed here, the situation in the context of this study gives grounds for concern. For example, could the development of psychological tools be prevented or interrupted in such circumstances? Equally, the inter/intra could be open to question; certain actions of the maid could interfere with the child's development putting the inter/intra at 'loggerheads'. Possibly, merging the scientific/formal schooling with the everyday/spontaneous strands of the home may also be difficult and even conflict. The spontaneous activity that the child experiences at home, if there is maid reliance, may not merge with the scientific at school; adult dependent behaviour is not usually reinforced in schools such as the particular ones in my study. Therefore, this kind of maid activity could hinder the compatibility of the two settings.

Furthermore, Moreno's view of instruction is a:

...process of effective scaffolding between an expert and a novice... (2002),

where the expert guides, regulates but eventually withdraws (ibid.).

Arguably, mothers might be guilty of not withdrawing or negotiating control. However, the point that I wish to make in the case of maids, is that their ultimate goal is increasing their financial capital not developing tools for learning. As they regard themselves as getting paid for 'doing it all', negotiating control could be difficult and consequently affect the way in which tasks are shared, for example.

Likewise, the social, historical and cultural position of the maid impacts on the activity and context. Daniels (2001, pp.133-134) refers to Hundeide's study (1985) which suggested that *participants in an activity... create the setting*, and discusses how these:

... 'taken for granted' background expectancies reflect in part the sociocultural experiences that the individual brings to the situation (ibid.).

Moreno also (2002) admits that:

There is a growing recognition that the way which people teach and learn are embedded in everyday activities and shaped by cultural settings.

These notions seem apparent in the way in which the maids operate. Due to their position, the maids' work is shaped by social/cultural restrictions and their own goals. Consequently, maids might do everything for the members of the family whether mandatory or not. This suggests the potential for a clash between the views of the socialization process in the home and the goals of encouraging independence at school. Maids' lives (and even the lives of their extended families) are dependent upon their jobs; an element of absolute indebtedness to their employers prevails. As previously mentioned, the servant-master element often exists (Jureidini 2003; Roumani 2005).

Hence, there is some potential for the social situation to guide and shape a tacit and informal 'pedagogy' arising out of the dyadic relationship of the maid and the child. As Vygotsky (1997, p.348) argued:

Pedagogics is never and was never politically indifferent, since, willingly or unwillingly, through its own work on the psyche, it has always adopted a particular social pattern, political line, in accordance with the dominant social class that has guided its interests.

Thus, in this situation, maids may interpret the basis of their employment as being total carers and consequently doing everything for the child. In turn, the children might grasp deep seated rules and patterns of behaviour from these everyday activities occurring in the home context. They see the maids and they drop their bags, for example. The maids carry on doing this because it is part of their history – they get paid for doing it; in many cases, childcare responsibilities are accompanied by a heavy domestic load (Lutz 2002; Roumani 2005). This would put a huge responsibility on the maid not only to 'get it right' but to get it done quickly. An administrator revealed how in one school the maids complained that the homework was 'too difficult for them' [the maids]. Roumani (2005) reveals how *childcare may be the secondary duty... keeping the house clean and tidy could be the first priority*. Interestingly, some background interviews indicated that maids who had been expected to do everything for the child in the previous family often carried this behaviour through to the next job, making it difficult for the new family to get them to change their behaviour. In general, maids admitted that they do not act this way with their own children. The maids and children in their care are shaped by their worlds and in turn they also shape their worlds.

On this subject, Vygotsky viewed the world as essentially shaping humans. However, the world that shapes the child in the context of the home will be different from the one that he/she experiences in school, sometimes resulting in gaps and arguably causing tensions for actors in this field. The literature examined suggests that children acquire psychological tools from their historically bound culture - family and society, therefore, even before they enter school. Adults model and children copy, thus providing tools for mediation. Educationalists often assume that there is a match between school and home, although frequently this is not true. However, in this context, as a result of the social situation and position of the maid, maid intervention can be common; therefore, an even bigger mis-match could exist.

Interestingly, Brazilian street children failed to carry out mathematical operations in

a formal situation, although they performed at a high level when they were selling their wares (Saxe 1991; Nunes et al. 1993), suggesting they were accomplished mathematicians when they needed to survive. In a situation where children might be over reliant upon maids, I wonder if the opposite consequences might prevail: if the activity does not allow children to develop and use certain tools, might they never totally grasp them? Or might they develop them at such a late age that achievement at school has already been hampered?

In this chapter I have explored how the use of tools for learning may be prevented or interrupted. In practice, this could affect basic skills necessary for social and educational development to occur, and impede the teaching and learning process. In institutions which adopt a Western biased, child-centred approach, such as those in my sample, engagement in school and successful achievement for children is often determined by the extent to which they are able to, for example:

- Use independent thinking skills
- Function independently
- Demonstrate self-regulating skills
- Show self-motivation
- Exercise critical thinking skills
- Speak and listen to others
- Develop meta-cognitive skills
- Adopt an element of risk taking
- Solve problems

This list is by no means an exhaustive one. Such skills are related to the EYFS (DCSF 2008) and the checklist used in this study (University of Cambridge 2007), for instance, and would be necessary for a 21st century curriculum such as that suggested by the Cambridge Primary Review (University of Cambridge 2009). Furthermore, based on my teaching experience, these kinds of skills are clearly important for all children and not necessarily related to one age group.

SUMMARY

Finally, Davydov (1995, cited by Daniels 2001, p.29) suggests:

Vygotsky did not recognise the presence of some separate reality containing only the teacher and child. He singled out and studied the dynamic social surroundings that connect the teacher and child (that is, the other adults and children with whom a given child actually lives and interacts).

In this study, through the frameworks of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory and Engeström's AT, I have attempted to investigate the *dynamic social surrounding* (ibid.) rather than simply examine the adult child interaction. These approaches enabled mediation and the social context to be studied, consequently providing information about the learning contexts of the home and the school. Through these approaches, I attempted to explore the rules in the particular settings, examine how those involved in the learning process share tasks and mediate tools and also note the outcomes. Additionally, I tried to investigate differences in the institutional settings

and the intervention of the maid. In turn, this helped to move closer to getting responses to the questions which I formulated at the start of the study.

Throughout this chapter, I have presented an explanation for the relevant framework used in this inquiry, which is based upon the work of Vygotsky, post-Vygotskians and Engeström's model of AT. I have also attempted to discuss some implications which emerge from these theories, for my particular context. The next chapter considers the methodological implications of the research and examines the research design before detailing the way in which the research was executed.

PART II: THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS OF THE RESEARCH INQUIRY

Introduction

This inquiry explored the perceived social and educational implications of home/school differences in pedagogic orientation, in children who have maids. Two schools in the Arabian Gulf which operate in an international context were the focus for this study, where a qualitative research method underpinned the research. I drew on Vygotskian and post-Vygotskian perspective as a theoretical framework from which to design the inquiry, and carry out the analysis.

This chapter considers the methodology, methodological implications of the theory and compatibility with the methods, before detailing the research design. The '*story of the research*' includes diagrams which illustrate the research picture.

Ethical considerations and strengths of the study are also discussed.

4.1 Research Methodology and Methods

A researcher's paradigm or view of the world (Hughes 2001; Burton and Bartlett 2005; Sobh and Perry 2006) reflects the choice of methods and the kind of knowledge they generate, a point which I now consider.

4.1.1 Methodology and Methodological Implications

In Chapter Three, I mentioned the need to examine the *dynamic social surrounding* (Davydov in Daniels 2001, p.29) of the child, as this study is concerned with perceived impact of social relations upon learning when there is a change in circumstances. As I assumed that learning and development stem from social practices and not purely through genetic achievements (Holzman 2006b), I required an appropriate paradigm for studying the social world; a theory that would consider the actual context by drawing on everyday activity as a starting point for analysis.

As previously discussed, sociocultural theory and activity theory seemed the most appropriate choice for such a framework: acknowledging the role of both human agency and social context in learning (Thorne 2005). This would go some way towards understanding the situation.

Vygotsky's sociocultural theory *rests on the concept of mediation* (Daniels 2006) and Engeström's activity theory examines the activity system in which action takes place; both theories regard social interaction as being central to studying human behaviour (Miettinen 2006). Experts such as Edwards and Daniels (2004) regard these theories as intertwined and complementary. Similarly, Edwards (2007) sees *activity theory as a branch of sociocultural theory*. Jonassen and Rohrer-Murphy (1999) disagree that activity theory is a methodology but rather *a philosophical framework for studying different forms of human praxis....* (ibid.). They also view the researcher as part of the process (ibid.).

There is a credibility and legitimacy that the relationship between methodology and research methods can provide (Scott and Morrison 2007, p.152). Distinct from actual data collecting methods, methodology refers to the theory of how researchers acquire knowledge from their research situations (ibid.), and as such, is associated with the researcher's position on ontology and epistemology.

Ontology refers to the nature of reality - a complex notion as researchers ...*hold different beliefs about reality* (Denscombe 2002, p.6). My ontological position deems the nature of reality as unknowable, as *human minds are socially and culturally embedded* (Linell 2009, p.63), but as a researcher I can try to get closer to the truth. This would place this study in the ontological position of critical realist, a particular form of realism (Bryman 2008, p.14), which recognizes that knowledge is socially constructed and as such is fallible. Reality is thus regarded as transient and affected by social and historical factors (Robson 2002), consequently, there is no guarantee of exact definition of reality (Joseph 2002, pp.12-13). Critical realism embraces the philosophy of science and social theory (Wikgren 2005) and allows for an interpretation of social theory which believes in the possibility of change through human activity (ibid.). Using this ontology helps *to understand and so change the social world... by identifying structures at work... that generate... events* (Bhaskar 1989, in Bryman 2008, p.14). Critical realism is not a single deductive methodology – but one which gathers knowledge *in different ways* (ibid. p.20) to move closer to reality. *Pluralism of method is necessary* (ibid.), something which I have tried to accomplish in this study. This socially and historically influenced ontological position in turn affects the epistemology. Epistemology refers to the basis of how one believes we come to 'know' our social world or the reality that researchers wish to describe (Scott and Morrison 2007, p.85) and is dependent upon *the nature of the subject matter* (Dow 2003, p.17).

As epistemology is based upon competing visions of how *humans create their knowledge about the social worlds* (Denscombe 2002, p.5) it is not a simple term. The epistemological basis of this research is sociogenetic; it regards the individual as growing out from, *supported by and dependent upon the social world* (Lightfoot and Cox 1997, pp.1-2). Humans construct their worlds with the socially and historically produced cultural artefacts and tools available to them, such as speech, routines and schema. Furthermore, Engeström's model of AT where learning is mediated not only by tools but by the context also shaped my epistemological belief and corresponds to a sociogenetic view:

The context-dependency issue has long held a central location in... the sociogenetic perspective on human development (Valsiner and Winegar 1992, p.10).

In my case, children's access to tools could be hampered through the actions of the maids. Consequently, they may construct their world on the dependency of others. This epistemology has permeated the process from the initial research idea, the formation of questions, through to collecting, interpreting and analysing the data.

4.1.2 Approach and Methods Used

'Methods' refers to the tools and techniques used to collect, analyze and interpret the data (Scott and Morrison 2007, p.152).

This study used qualitative methods (Parker 1994; Denscombe 1998; Flick 1998; Silverman 2005) and produced mostly qualitative data, with some quantitative information to complement and qualify. Qualitative methods *have an important place in the pantheon of research involving people* (Robson 2002) and collect data in real life settings thus producing rich, descriptive and extensive information (Wellington 2000, p.133). There is also *richness and detail* (Denscombe 1998, p.220) and *relevance to the study of social relations* (Flick 1998, p.2) which were suitable for this study. Furthermore, Jonassen and Rohrer-Murphy (1999) insist that *AT necessitates a qualitative approach*. Disadvantages point to it being time consuming, costly, having ethical considerations, being subjective and often producing more questions than answers (Stake 1995, p.45); similarly, it is difficult to generalize and explanations are sometimes oversimplified (Denscombe 1998, pp.221-222).

Drawing on ethnographic understanding and methods, the research involved multi-methods of data collection to explore and illuminate, in an attempt to get into the depth of reality. I was mindful that my approach was dependent on the subjectivity of the researcher, that generalization would be difficult and that the study may not be replicable.

4.1.3 Compatibility between Methods and Activity Theory

The purpose of undertaking research is the production of new knowledge (Pring 2000, p.146).

Data collection procedures were based upon examination of the social context and the cultural embeddedness of everyday practices and, I believed, would move closer to finding answers to the research questions and data for Engeström's 'interpretation' of AT. I credited this process with providing insights and new knowledge about an area that interested me plus many others working in my context.

My project seemed to satisfy Nardi's requirements (1992); AT based research needs:

- *A research frame long enough to understand user's objects* (ibid.). My study took place over a period of approximately two years. Studying children of various age groups enabled me to examine any changes in patterns of behaviour.
- *A commitment to understanding things* (ibid.) from the point of view of others; this included interviewing a wide variety of groups.
- *Attention to broad patterns of activity* (ibid.). Evidence was provided by the variety of formal/informal interviews which related to varied participants and situations, and studying other situations and practices.
- *The use of a varied selection of data techniques* (ibid.) including interview, classroom observation, checklist document and task observation.

A major critique of sociocultural approaches to data collection includes a

dependency upon the historical and cultural situation; therefore, there is more than one reality. This criticism is related here through the study of the cultural and historical background of the maid and children.

4.1.4 Justification of Procedures

As opposed to traditional 'scientific' instruments such as questionnaires, survey and tests, my instruments were more anthropologically based and concentrated on collecting data based *upon participation of people in... everyday life events*, as advocated by Cole (1996, p.328). I regarded the instruments used, namely, interviews, teacher checklists, classroom observation and task observation as appropriate for the study of this social context and believed they would help achieve the aim of the research by going some way towards answering questions underpinning the inquiry.

4.1.5 Generalization and Transferability

Generalizations are a necessary aspect... of good research
(Denscombe 2002, p.154).

Although this project was context bound, similar findings appeared to emerge from the two distinctly diverse schools. Participants were representative of cultures found in international schools, including a multi-cultural maid sample. Despite this, it is difficult to say that this study has provided generic or absolute truth, but instead has been exploratory in nature: the intention from the outset. Nevertheless, aspects of the study could relate to similar contexts, but further study is definitely required in order to generalize.

The availability of detailed documentation of research steps might enable transferability of method, although similar results would not be guaranteed as the study is context bound. Transferability of the results would require further studies.

4.1.6 Validity, Reliability and Triangulation

Validity²⁶ and reliability²⁷ are complex terms associated with the accuracy and trustworthiness of the research (Wellington 2000, pp.31-32; Rudestam and Newton 2001, pp.98-99; Denscombe 2002, p.99; Burton and Bartlett 2005, pp.26-27). Although not as focussed on validity as the positivist research paradigm (Wisker 2001, p.123), in order to increase the truthfulness of the study I refer to both validity and reliability.

Research was valid in that each specific instrument was used to provide responses to at least one sub-question. Checking of transcripts with participants also increased the internal validity. In this exploratory study, as a means of *corroborating evidence and illuminating themes* (Rudestam and Newton 2001, p.100) multiple sources, perspectives and varied collection tools were used to collect data thus providing external validity. Consequently, this enabled triangulation, thus strengthening the results while yielding a variety of rich data (Tindall 1994, pp.145-149; Edwards and

²⁶ Validity examines if the data measures what it was intended to have measured.

²⁷ Reliability refers to the degree to which the results are reliable and trustworthy and could be replicated.

Talbot 1999, p.5; Burton and Bartlett 2005, p.28).

Detailing each step, does not guarantee that another researcher would reach the same conclusion, but it increases the degree of reliability. Nevertheless, reliability would have been hindered by the absence of video/cassette recorders due to the conservative nature of the area and the sensitive nature of the subject. However, due to practicalities, it is not usually feasible to replicate real world research (Robson 2002).

4.1.7 Time and Duration of the Study

The study began in September 2006 and was completed by June 2009. Dates and times are documented throughout; a time line and sample schedules are available in *Appendices A and B*. In general, the study was feasible in terms of resources and time, although data collection in S2 did not go quite as smoothly as in the first school, as discussed in limitations.

4.2 Ethics

With all studies required to conform to ethical standards (Tindall 1994; Bell 1999; Wellington 2000; May 2001; Rudestam and Newton 2001; Wisker 2001; Silverman 2005; Bryman 2008), ethics play an important part in research, even in the field of social studies such as educational research (May 2001, p.62-63). Ethical issues arise more in qualitative studies than quantitative, mainly because the qualitative researcher intrudes more on people's lives (Punch 1998, p.281). Greater need for ethical concerns in educational research exists as researchers are dealing with humans and not inanimate objects (Wellington 2000, p.3). Therefore, considering the rights and interests of the people involved (Denscombe 2002, pp.174-193) together with the university's policy on ethics was an essential part of my study. Careful consideration of the whole process from the outset may have helped to enhance the ethical quality.

No evidence was consciously filtered out – whether in the documentation of the data, for example observations, or when completing the analysis.

My ultimate rule was to display complete honesty and openness as suggested by Wellington (2000, p.56). To ensure that this aim was met as much as possible, it was essential to consider the following points:

4.2.1 Initial Permission²⁸

Administrators of both schools were provided with an overall picture of my research. No stage was started until I had full approval.

4.2.2 Anonymity and Confidentiality

Due to the sensitive nature of the geographical area and the subject of the research, I assured participants confidentiality and anonymity. Schools and participants were coded, thus guaranteeing anonymity.

²⁸ Samples of letters of information and permission can be seen in *Appendix C*

I wanted to emphasize involvement of many nationalities. However, to avoid participant identification, I often used broad descriptions of nationalities e.g. Northern European as opposed to Danish. Nobody accessed codes and data were kept in a secure place as suggested by Mac Naughton et al. (2001, p.67).

4.2.3 Participants

Teachers in both schools were provided with the full research picture before any steps were taken to collect data. I am not convinced that the information was passed to all teachers in one of the schools. However, no pressure was put on any individual; all teachers involved agreed to participate.

Maids involved in the background interviews were verbally informed about the study before they agreed to participate. I requested that parents ask maids' permission before agreeing for them to participate. I am not certain that this happened in one of the schools. Linguistic issues may have made it difficult for maids particularly in S2, to fully understand the project. In spite of this, the maids seemed happy to participate in the task.

Letters of research information and permission were sent to all parents before any step of the research took place, including class interviews for FS2 and Year 5 children, observation of children with/without maids, children involved in checklists and tasks.

Although legally children cannot give consent (Mac Naughton et al. 2001, p.56), Year 5 children were informed about the research before I arrived and given an opportunity to leave the session if they wished. I reinforced this before starting the session; they were all keen to participate. It was rather more difficult to explain the research to four and five year olds, therefore, I dealt with this by obtaining parental permission.

BEd students: Normal college procedures to obtain research permission were followed. Permission was granted by the dean of the college, heads of section and class tutor. Students were given an overall picture of the research and opportunity to leave before I arrived. I reinforced this before starting my informal interview. All were enthusiastic about participating.

4.2.4 Acknowledging Participants and Distributing Information

I had regular contact with the administrators of both sites. Administrators and most teachers and parents were frequently informed of the various stages of the research and I agreed to provide a summation of the findings. I held a coffee morning in S1 to inform parents of the findings, and provided a summation leaflet for all teachers and parents of children involved. Parents, teachers and administrators were keen to access the results of the study. I will repeat these steps in S2.

The same procedures were difficult to arrange for maids. Regular access to maids was sometimes complex as many of them have left the region. These factors have rendered maid contact far more problematic to arrange than parent/teacher contact. However, I invited maids in S1 for a coffee morning and feedback/discussion session.

All participants were acknowledged and thanked immediately after their involvement, either by e-mail, letter or in person.

I was also mindful of the ethics needed at each stage including the research method, the way the data were analysed and in writing up the findings.

I now move on to describe the execution of the study.

4.3 Execution of the Study

This is primarily a qualitative study based on two different sites in the Arabian Gulf. I remind the reader of the context:

<u>Statements Pertaining to the Issue</u>	*Migrant women, often known as maids, from developing countries provide an inexpensive and accessible child care alternative, which could be regarded as widespread in certain regions.
	* This trend of hiring maids, who because of their social position often do many basic tasks for children in their care, has entered the world of international schools in particular geographical areas.
	* The issue of over reliance upon maids, to the point of often appearing helpless without their input, has often concerned professionals.
	* The Arabian Gulf is an interesting area due to the actual ratio of maids to children: sometimes as high as 1:1.
	* Little academic research on this phenomenon appears to exist. Personal observations and experience, together with informal conversations with international educators prompted the idea of carrying out research in this area
	* Sociocultural theory and activity theory was selected as a theoretical framework for the inquiry design and analysis, as changes in the child's settings and intervention of the maid required a theory that would consider the social context and the cultural embeddedness of everyday practices. This would enable me: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to consider the social context • to examine rules, community and the way in which tasks are divided in both settings • to analyze what is happening in this situation

Figure 4.A Statements Pertaining to the Issue

4.3.1 Basis of the Data Collection and Tools Used

Prior to formal research, background interviews were carried out, which provided greater understanding and further insights into some of the issues, particularly from a point of view other than my own. These interviews raised a number of points that helped me modify original questions and thoughts²⁹ and aided in the choice of appropriate questions and approaches to achieve my main aim.

The main question and sub-questions which follow were used as a basis to guide the data collection. After plotting the questions onto a large chart, I decided which instruments would be best suited to answering each question. Sources of data collection would also provide information for use in the model of Engeström's

²⁹ Located in *Appendix D*

activity theory.³⁰ I did not have large numbers of respondents to justify using questionnaires, and I also required tools which would provide me with rich and extensive data to illuminate and reveal what was happening in my context. Subsequently, I decided the following tools would be most appropriate for my needs:

Main Question	Sub Questions	Tools Used
What are the perceived social and educational implications of home/school differences in pedagogic orientation, in children who have maids at selected sites in the Middle East?	1. Why does the presence of maids appear to be so widespread in families of children who attend certain international schools?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews
	2. What do these maids do?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews • Task
	3. Why do the maids act in the way that they do?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews • Task
	4. How does the school activity differ from the home activity?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews • Task
	5. What are the perceived social and cognitive consequences for children as a result of the influence of maids?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews • Observation • Checklists • Teacher feedback • Task
	6. How can international schools alleviate or cater for a situation where children are perceived to display characteristics of over reliance upon maids?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews • Additional respondents

Figure 4.B Main Question and Sub-questions

- *Parent Interviews* would inform as to why parents have maids, what kinds of things maids do, why and the consequences of their actions (answering all key questions).
- *Classroom Observations* would establish behaviour differences between –*Maid* and +*Maid* groups and examine diminishing/increasing differences over time.
- *Checklists* would establish behaviour differences between the groups from a teacher perspective.
- The *Task* would determine the pedagogical model used by maids and teachers, establish any differences in these models and also consider their understanding of intersubjectivity.³¹

³⁰ As illustrated on page 41.

³¹ Shared understanding of a situation

- *Additional Responses* would help create a new activity model to alleviate/cater for any potential issues.

Thus, data from different sources enabled multiple perspectives.

The kinds of data collected were mostly qualitative in nature, although certain checklist data were put into a chi-square test using an SPSS programme, and also used to formulate tables. This created visual comparisons and qualified some statements.³²

The data collection was organized as follows:

1. INTERVIEWS	
(i) Background interviews used as a 'lead in'/provide background details (maids, teachers, children, parents, administrator, researcher, host country BEd students)	(ii) Parents School 1 and School 2 – semi structured interviews used for qualitative and quantitative data
2. OBSERVATION	
Children +Maids and –Maids*	
<i>School 1</i>	<i>School 2</i>
8 children (+ Maids)	8 children (+Maids)
8 children (- Maids)	3 children (- Maids)
3. CHECKLISTS	
Independent learning checklists completed by class teachers for the children who were observed	
4. TASK	
Adult/child dyads: adult teaches the child how to copy a model farmyard.	
<i>School 1</i>	<i>School 2</i>
Maid and child dyad (x3)	Maid and child dyad (x3)
Child and teacher dyad (x3)	Child and teacher dyad (x3)
5.ADDITIONAL RESPONDENTS	
Suggestions of ideas to alleviate maid dependency and successful strategies employed when working with children who are reliant upon maids.	
(i) Interview: teachers/parents/BEd students	(ii) E-mail contact: teachers in international schools
* + Maids = children who have maids at home - Maids = children who do not have maids at home	

Figure 4.C Organization of Data Collection

³² Qualitative and quantitative categories can be located in *Appendix E*.

4.3.2 Study Sample

Location: Two sites, located in different countries in the Arabian Gulf were selected for the sample.³³

Size: Size and details of the samples are documented on pages 58, 59 and *Appendix G*.

Selection of sample: Participants from diverse backgrounds allowed for a variety of perspectives. Significant constraints and flaws are detailed in Chapter Six.

- *Parents*: Parents of children 3-7 years old were informed of and invited to participate in group interviews. 20 slips were returned in S1; 11 respondents attended. Information letters were couriered to S2 administration to distribute to parents. I am uncertain if all parents received them. The 18 respondents who returned the slips were contacted by e-mail and provided with the interview date and time. Five attended interview.

- *Pupils for observation*: Teachers in both schools were asked to pick a sample of children with/without maids at home, which would reflect diverse nationalities. This was challenging as most children had maids. In S2 only three children out of 400 had no maid.

- *Pupils for checklist*: Class teachers completed *independent learning* checklists for the observed children.

- *Pupils for task*: S1: From 102 distributed letters 17 permission replies were received (13 to work with teachers/four with maids) I attempted to select children of varying nationalities.

S2: 30 replies from 300 letters (23 to work with teachers/seven with maids). Most children were Gulf Nationals. Limited permission slips meant choice for selection was restricted in both schools.

- *Maids for task*: Although selection was limited due to the number of returned slips, I attempted to vary the nationalities of maids.

- *Teachers for the task*: governed by the following criteria:

- Early years teachers
- Willingness to take part
- Varying nationalities

There were no male teachers for this particular age group in either of the sample schools. I wanted to place the 'task child' with his/her own teacher for reasons of familiarity. This was possible in all but one case (in S1). Criteria limits meant the sample chose itself. Control over participant selection was more complex in S2. I

³³ Relevant details in *Appendix F*.

requested the administrator's help in informing teachers about the task; consequently, specific teachers were asked to participate.

4.3.3 Data Collection Process

I now discuss each data collection tool and its application starting with interviews.

1. INTERVIEWS

Two kinds of interviews were carried out:

- Informal chats used as background interviews in S1 country.
- Semi-structured interviews with parents in S1 and S2.

A. Background Interviews – Country 1

Brief interviews with a cross section of people who were easily available and willing to talk to me provided background information for the thesis, and served as a springboard for question formation for the research and semi-structured interviews. They further informed about the rules, community, division of tasks, use of tools and outcomes: areas linked to Engeström's AT model.

Questions asked in these informal chats are located in *Appendix H*. I believed that these questions were pertinent to each particular person/group involved and would provide me with a deeper insight from their point of view. Some of them, particularly those in the BEd students' interview were spontaneous. Responses were documented and transferred to a grid³⁴.

Most teachers agreed to participate, but I attempted to select a broad sample including an international schools' administrator. I received 24 affirmative replies from maids; three maids attended an informal meeting and I also met with maids who collected their charges and were familiar to me. I interviewed two cleaners who had worked previously as maids for various nationalities. An FS2 class and a Year 5 class were used to elicit children's responses. Hala Roumani, who had previously researched into maids in Arabia was interviewed. One parent requested an interview out of interest in my study; another parent was also a teacher in S1. Female Gulf nationals undertaking a BEd course with Melbourne University, Australia were interviewed in a group situation:

³⁴ Located in *Appendix I*

People who participated in the informal chats	Details
8 maids and 1 carer	8 were females; 1 male carer. They were all from developing countries: 5 from the Philippines, 2 from Nepal, 1 from Ethiopia, 1 from Sri Lanka
7 teachers	4 English (1 with Pakistani ethnicity), 1 Welsh, 1 Arab, 1 Scottish; 1 male, 6 females. 1 was a parent; 2 had maids themselves as children
1 administrator	Female, English administrator has been a principal in 3 different schools in 2 countries in the Arabian Gulf
1 researcher	Female and Syrian; She carried out a study on maids in Kuwait
Group of students	12 Gulf national females completing a BED course; brought up with/by maids
Multinational Children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FS2 children age 4-5 years • Year 5 children age 9-10 years
Parents	1 parent from England (Pakistani ethnicity) who is also a teacher; 1 parent from Kenya

Figure 4.D Participants in the Background Chats

B. Semi Structured Group Interviews – S1 and S2

Semi-structured group interviews with parents were completed in both schools, as I believed they would provide information for key questions (Burton, Brundrett and Jones 2008, p.59). In S1, interviews took place over two sessions. The interview in S2 was subject to time constraints for reasons beyond my control, therefore, it was not possible to totally replicate S1 questions. I used a large chart to document the main question and the sub-questions and plotted out parent interview questions that I thought would help answer them and which would also provide information for the areas of Engeström's model of AT.

Initial letters and reminders were distributed to parents. Interviews were conducted in school. Individual questions were presented on a flip chart. Parents responded in pairs and fed back to the group after each question – participating in an informal discussion. They also documented their responses on post-its as they operated in pairs, placing them on typed individual A4 question sheets which I collected. I took notes as parents discussed their responses.

Initially, I also documented the interviewees' feedback onto the flipchart during the feedback time. This proved difficult to organize and did not seem to have a lot of purpose, therefore, I abandoned it after the 4th question in S1; it was not used in S2.

Data Analysis:

The analysis was intended to determine the reason parents hire maids, to examine what the maids do, why they behave in the way that they do and the perceived consequences of their influence on their charges.

The data responses from each question were reduced in two stages:

- Common themes in each school
- Common themes in both schools combined

This provided qualitative data. Responses on post-its were also tallied and documented. As I was the one who decided on the themes, bias may have existed. Somebody replicating the study may interpret it differently. However, original and reduced data are included in the appendices. Interview questions are documented in *Appendix J*.

Participants are detailed below:

School 1	
<u>Interview 1:</u> November 11 th 2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 mothers and 1 father • 5 English, 1 Canadian/Palestinian, 1 Dutch, 1 German, 1 Indian, 1 Rwandan, 1 South African • 5 of the 11 speak English as a second language
<u>Interview 2:</u> November 25 th 2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 mothers – all had been to the previous interview • 4 English, 1 Dutch • 1 speaks English as a second language • 3 apologies in advance • 3 forgot – apologized later

Figure 4.E Group Interview Participants - S1

School 2	
<u>Interview 1:</u> December 2 nd 2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 mothers and 1 father • 2 Gulf nationals, 1 Canadian, 1 Australian, 1 Hungarian • 3 speak English as a second language • I had 2 responses by e-mail from 2 Gulf Nationals and included these responses in the analysis

Figure 4.F Group Interview Participants – S2

2. OBSERVATION

To establish perceived behaviour difference in children with and without maids (including over a period of time), I observed children's behaviour patterns in class.

Four children (2 +*Maids*, 2 -*Maids*)³⁵ from four different age groups³⁶ were observed in their classes for a 20 minute/half hour period, depending on group size. Teachers were asked to set up typical daily activities. I took brief notes and coded them for each behaviour pattern observed:

Sign	Meaning
✓	Child requests or receives help to do task (from a more capable other)
X	Child does task without help (regarded as working independently on task)
!	Child gives up trying (regarded as abandoning task)

Figure 4.G Explanation of Observation Code

The behaviour code for each child was tallied and transferred into numerical data:

F1 Age: 3-4 years	Number of behaviours noted	15
	Worked independently on task	3
	Sought or received help	2
	Abandoned task	10

Figure 4.H Example of Behaviours Transferred into Numerical Data

³⁵ I could only access 3 children in S2 -*Maids* out of 400 children in the target group.

³⁶ Age groups: 3-4 years, 4-5 years, 5-6 years, 6-7 years.

Examples of behaviour patterns that matched the code are identified below:

Sign	Meaning	Example of behaviour
✓	Child requests or receives help to do task (from more capable other)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Needed others to initiate interaction • Could not return resources without help • Sat until an adult helped even though instructions had been provided • Needed prompting to do what others were doing or what was expected • Needed constant reassurance that results/actions were correct
X	Child does task without help (<i>regarded as working independently on task</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiates interaction without prompting • Returns resources without being told or directed by adult • Knows what is required after listening to instructions • Functions in class without constant prompting • Stays on task • Works independently
!	Child gives up trying (<i>regarded as abandoning task</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unsure what to do – looks around class • Sits and does nothing • Constantly gazes into space/wanders around doing nothing constructive • Does not stay on task • Sits and stares at resources instead of using them • Gives up trying to do task and uses resources inappropriately e.g. picks resource up and puts it down repeatedly – no sense of purpose

Figure 4.I Examples of Three Types of Identified Behaviour

Transcriptions of the observations were given to each teacher to verify if the behaviour was typical of each child.

A pilot observation was completed. It worked well, although I made some technical changes to the observation record.³⁷

Data Analysis:

The analysis was intended to determine perceived differences in behaviour of those children +*Maids* and those -*Maids*, thus contributing information for perceived consequences of maids' influence on children. The study included different age groups; the numerical grids using the coded behaviour formulated for each child, provided an opportunity to establish any behaviour differences over time by examining age groups for diminishing or increasing gaps.

³⁷ Appendix K

Qualitative data provided deeper insights. Common themes in the behaviour of children with and without maids were collated and documented. Data were then reduced in the following stages:

- i) Each age group in each school
- ii) Combining age groups in each school
- iii) Finally, reducing the data by finding common themes in both schools combined

Data seemed to fall into the following themes:

- Patterns of Functioning
- Interaction Patterns
- Sense of Purpose
- Use of Previously Acquired Skills and Knowledge

Researcher bias may have occurred, as I interpreted the behaviour and decided on the themes.

3. CHECKLISTS

An adapted *Independent Learning Checklist* from the University of Cambridge, Faculty of Education (2007) was used to gauge the child's level of independence³⁸. Class teachers completed a checklist for each of the observed children. The checklist was divided into 4 different areas of development: Emotional; Pro-social; Cognitive; Motivation. There were 22 positive statements. Teachers had to decide on the frequency of the skill displayed and mark it with a ✓ as in this example:

	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never
EMOTIONAL				
Can speak about own and others behaviour & consequences	✓			
Tackles new tasks confidently		✓		
Can control attention and resist distraction		✓		

Figure 4.J Example of Section of a Checklist

Ticks were tallied and transferred into tables. This enabled a comparison of independent behaviour, as perceived by class teachers, between those children with maids and those without.

³⁸ Available in *Appendix L*

Data Analysis:

The analysis was intended to determine the perceived difference in behaviour of those children +*Maids* and -*Maids*, thus, contributing information for perceived consequences of maids' influence on children. The study included different age groups to establish any behaviour differences over time.

Pearson's chi-square

An SPSS programme was used to put the data through a Pearson's chi-square test in order to qualify certain statements, thus providing greater confidence in the findings. Although the cross tabulation part of the SPSS allowed me to see differences, chi-square was a more formal way of testing (Punch 1998).

I used this non-parametric method as it seemed the most appropriate for the characteristics of my data: qualitative, categorical and investigating real life (Punch 1998; Edwards and Talbot 1999; Caan 2009). Non-parametric tests also require fewer assumptions about a population or probability (Caan 2009), something which is difficult to assume in this study. Other conventional non-parametric tests such as Mann-Whitney and Wilcoxon deal with data in an ordinal format and would not measure what was required in this instance.

This test of significance requires p to be less than 0.05, indicating that in a sample of 100, only 5 might falsely conclude a relationship, when one does not exist. P value tells you how likely it would be that you would get the difference from chance alone, *if there really is no difference in the population from which you drew your sample* (Robson 2002, p.400). Therefore, a small p value means that the result is less likely to be due to chance rather than difference. However, there could be other explanations for the result (Robson *ibid.* p.401); chi-square does not tell you the actual cause of the difference.

Non-parametric tests are less powerful and not as precise as parametric tests (Cann 2009). In addition, statistical testing is *highly controversial* and criticized (Robson 2002, p.401) and *not related to size or importance of effect or relationship* (*ibid.*). However, this inquiry does not hinge solely on this test; this particular aspect is a small part of a much larger study.

4. TASK

Maid teaching practices are presented and compared to those of teachers' practices. To realize part of the main aim, a small task was employed in both schools to discover any potential mis-match between the 'teaching' of the maid and the prototypical model in two international schools with a Western philosophy.

I wish to acknowledge that I was very much influenced by the studies of de Haan (1999, in de Haan 2001) and Wertsch et al (1984) and this Vygotskian inspired task was based on a combination of features from both of these studies as was the analysis.

I mainly examined:

- How maids organize learning and the instructional patterns they use in contrast to teachers.

- Differences which exist between maids and teachers involving their roles and interactions with children.

The task involved a completed model of farmyard/animals on a board and a replica board marked out to show where the 16 pieces go.³⁹ The adult had to teach the child to copy the completed model using the replica board and pieces.

The task was explained to each adult beforehand and resources shown. Each dyad working on the task was observed (dyad by dyad). The task was divided into three observable subtasks as follows:

Subtask 1	Subtask 2	Subtask 3
Look at model	Select piece	Put piece in place

Codes were then used to match the way in which the subtasks were carried out:

Code	A	CI	CIR	CDR	CA
Action	Adult carried out subtask	Child carried out subtask independently	Child carried out subtask with indirect form of regulation	Child carried out subtask with direct form of regulation	Child got adult to carry out subtask

Figure 4.K Codes for Observed Behaviour

Typical examples of direct and indirect regulation are identified below:

	Subtask 1	Subtask 2	Subtask 3
Direct	Adult prompts/points to model thus getting the child to look at it or verbally identifies next step	Adult picks up piece for child/points to piece needed or makes explicit verbal reference	Adult points to position where piece should go on their copy or tells child where it should go
Indirect	Adult asks “What do we do next?” or “What happens next?”	Adult asks “Which piece do you need?” or says “Look at what comes next”	Adult gets child to look at original model or identify where it is on model

Figure 4.L Examples of Direct and Indirect Behaviour

³⁹ The pieces to be selected and placed were: 1 tree, 1 cat, 3 pigs, 4 cows, 1 duck (on a duck pond) and a set of chickens (on a path). They also had to place a fence around two groups of animals – 3 brown pieces and 2 white pieces.

Each code was transferred into a score, as indicated below, and scores were used to formulate a graph using an Excel programme, thus enabling a quantitative comparison of the degree of child independence allowed in the maid dyads to the degree allowed in the teacher dyads.

Index	Score
<i>A</i>	0
<i>CI</i>	5
<i>CIR</i>	3
<i>CDR</i>	1
<i>CA</i>	0

Figure 4.M Grading the Task Scores

Additionally, notes taken were used to categorize and examine strategies used by the adults (before, during and after the task). The participants were asked questions after the task:

Questions for Adults	1. What do you think the task was about? 2. What were you doing? 3. How do you think you taught the child? 4. What do you think the child gained from the task?
Questions for Children	1. What did x (name of adult) do? 2. What did you learn when you were doing the task?

Figure 4.N Questions Asked after the Task

The answers were transcribed; common themes arising from note taking/answers to questions were used for the qualitative data in the analysis as described below. Time sheets for the tasks were also created and used for comparison.

Data analysis:

The analysis was intended to determine the pedagogical model used by the dyads. This measuring tool was used to acquire mainly qualitative data. The belief was that the adults' task organization and communicative roles would affect their pedagogical orientation.

In an attempt to discover the pedagogy and the interpretation of intersubjectivity used by both groups, I looked at the way in which roles were shared and the way the tasks were organized, as suggested by de Haan (2001). Examining these also enabled me to discover motives, goals and operation of the activity, factors which reflect pedagogical orientation (Wertsch et al. 1984).

Points central to this analysis were:

- The way in which the task was organized to reflect prospects for learning
- The way in which this behaviour transferred to the communication patterns and division of the roles.

To help achieve this, I analyzed the strategies used by the dyads and examined the responsibility role for the sub-tasks. I asked the following questions in order to compare the two groups, thus enabling me to employ a simple quantitative analysis of pattern of participation and control:

- Who carried out the subtask?
- How was the subtask carried out?

Through this analysis, I was able to see if the strategy used was controlled or initiated by the adult, if the child was the main performer or if the adult was the main performer in the three observable subtasks which led to the goal of copying the model.

Piloting the task/form

When the task and recording form was piloted, it was evident that adjustments would have to be made – the child would have to stand in order to access and view all resources. Additionally, I realised that I would have to watch closely - no video! Technical changes were made to the form; for example, ensure code would fit, use bold to make it easier on the eye⁴⁰.

5. ADDITIONAL RESPONDENTS

Certain background interview participants⁴¹, parent group interviews and informal chats with teachers in S2, provided ideas for working successfully with children who appeared to be reliant upon maids. In addition, colleagues working in international schools were contacted by e-mail and asked:

How have you been able to alleviate or cater for a situation where children are perceived to display characteristics of over reliance upon maids? What has worked for you?

Documented responses generated information for a new activity system; they also seemed to fall naturally into these categories:

- School as an Agent of Change
- Rule Changes in School
- School Organization
- Classroom Organization
- Change in Home Rules

⁴⁰ Located in *Appendix M*

⁴¹ Teachers, host country BEd students, parents

4.4 Strengths of the study

This study had certain strengths:

4.4.1 Strengths of Theory Used

The methods were well placed for studying social phenomena (Denscombe 2002, p.18) and compatible with the theoretical frameworks as was the critical realist paradigm (Robson 2002).

4.4.2 Systematic and Logical Process

Comprehensive records, essential for accountability (Denscombe 2002, p.132), were maintained and I attempted to carefully plan and document each step, methodically and systematically. I kept a detailed log/diary and regularly reviewed my plans. Consequently, information was continuously available and well organized.

Most participants checked interview transcripts which helped to ensure reliability. Relevant teachers commented on my observation notes, checked typed checklists and results of their tasks. Unfortunately, access to some maids and language barriers hindered maids checking task transcripts.

As much as possible, I aimed to live up to Bassey's definition of educational research as:

...systematic, critical and self-critical inquiry which aims to contribute to the advancement of knowledge. (Bassey 1990, in Wellington 2000, p.13).

4.4.3 Range of Voices

As the researcher I set the agenda, but participants came from a wide range of cultures thus bringing diversity to the project. Key stakeholders were involved – ranging from children, maids, administrator, parents and teachers, thus ensuring a cross-section of responses and voices.

4.4.4 Participant Support

Participants were supportive of the study. Once I had gained access to the sites, there seemed to be few obstacles that I was unable to overcome. Teachers in particular seemed keen to help, particularly those I knew. Maids were willing to talk to me about their experiences and jobs. Parents, especially those in S1 appeared interested, supportive and willing to share their thoughts.

4.5 My Position as Researcher

As a researcher, personal bias and my own background and opinions would have impacted on the research, shaping the data collected and the way it was represented and interpreted (Mac Naughton et al. 2001, pp.144-145). However, Denscombe (2002, pp.166-167) reminds that *a total value free approach to objectivity... asks for the impossible*. He prefers a less controversial response where the researcher's values exist but *do not impinge on the research in an unwarranted manner* (ibid.). To alleviate negative effects of bias, I tried to adopt an open mind throughout the process. My background knowledge and experience teaching in international schools in the Middle East provided me with a fundamental understanding of how life plays out in this arena, enabling me to be more sensitive in my questioning of maids and local/multicultural parents. I attempted to contain any signs of judgement – whether

through body language or verbal expression during interview and tasks. These factors may have reduced any impact of my opinions on the quality of data.

An element of researcher bias when observing may have existed, particularly when interpreting children's actions (Burton et al. 2008, p.13). I was also aware of whether most of the children observed had maids or not at home. This was difficult to avoid as I knew all of the children in S1 and in S2 only 3 children did not have maids.

4.6 Other Studies Pertinent to My Research

A review of literature revealed that no study has been previously undertaken with regard to maid dependence in this particular context. However studies with certain common characteristics have been conducted.

I am aware that a researcher in Saudi Arabia completed a project based on language problems involving children with maids, but for various reasons, I was unable to gain full access.

I was able to locate two somewhat relevant studies: those of AL-Shatti (2003) and Roumani (2005) both undertaken in Kuwait in the Arabian Gulf. Roumani's in depth study carried out in her nurseries analyzes how the use of maids as primary caregivers in the geographical area leads to harmful effects on social and emotional development. Roumani concluded that this practice has become a cultural and social norm which is affecting society in the Arabian Gulf and she recommends changes, detailing implications for parents and policy makers. Changes in government policy in this region would not necessarily mean that the children in the context of this study – private, international schools would benefit; expatriate parents for example, are responsible for organizing their own education/childcare. Roumani's study, although a significant and in-depth piece, did not have direct contact with maids; they were interviewed indirectly by their employers. In my study, I was fortunate to interview a number of maids without their employers being present. AL-Shatti's study (2003) revealed that the language development of children could be negatively impacted as a result of errors in maids' speech (ibid.), although, it only involved Sri Lankan maids and Kuwaiti families. AL-Shatti's work (ibid.) also validates that few previous investigations have taken place with the majority conducted by official authorities;⁴² they mainly involved Arabian Gulf nationals, were mostly based upon closed-ended questionnaires ticked by mothers and *lacked accurate statistical analysis* (ibid.), and in fact, are not recent. The points mentioned go some way towards justifying a need for further study, which involves children of all nationalities, a greater range of key stakeholders and an investigation which attempts to provide deeper insights. I have attempted to move towards this here.

Common characteristics prompted me to consult a number of research studies on maternal teaching strategies: my study was influenced by Wertsch et al (1984) and de Haan (2001).

Wertsch et al. (1984) compared the way in which Brazilian teachers and mothers worked with children. The authors suggest that the theory of activity helps interpret

⁴² Al-Gerdawi 1987; Ministries of Bahrain 1981, Kuwait 1983, Oman 1983, UAE 1984, Saudi Arabia 1985 (in Al Shatti 2003).

their findings: the goal was the same for both groups but they operated differently when reaching it. They concluded that the way in which *activities are related and organized at societal level* (ibid.) is crucial to the way in which the dyads operated. Operation was governed by the way in which they viewed the activity; mothers saw it as something to be completed successfully whereas for teachers the motive was an opportunity to teach and learn. I have similar findings in the task that was completed by the dyads in my study. The research of Wertsch et al (ibid.) was not subject to linguistic constraints, whereas linguistic issues in the task stage of my study may have existed.

A study by de Haan (1999, in de Haan 2001) evaluated instructional contexts of Mexican Mazahua mother/child and teacher/child dyads, working on practical and problem solving activities. The intention was to examine the non-neutral term intersubjectivity, its connection to social practices and its application to models of learning and teaching. De Haan concluded that teachers clearly explained the activity and the child's role: behaviour which continued throughout the activity. Mothers used less verbal interaction and gave instruction when they felt it was necessary; this was carried out as they worked. Both participants in mother/child dyads took initiatives. De Haan suggests that the dyads looked at intersubjectivity (in this case, a shared understanding of the activity) differently: communication was in fact culturally specific. There are implications here for teaching and learning, according to de Haan, in that the usual interpretation of intersubjectivity in teaching and learning studies seems to be based upon school based practices and culture. To a large extent the task in my study fits that mould.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have revealed how the study was designed and carried out. I now move on to Chapter Five where I provide an account of the results of the study, followed by the analysis and discussion.

CHAPTER 5

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Introduction

Having considered the design and execution of the study, I now turn to this penultimate chapter which reveals the results, and analyzes the findings, by examining themes and connections which have arisen. Using each sub-question as a basis for the analysis, various outcomes and arguments are explored. Engeström's model of AT is used to analyze each unit of activity⁴³ before discussing the limitations. The chapter ends with details of the main findings. I begin by reminding the reader of the aim and sub-questions.

5.1 Review of the Aim

The ultimate aim of this thesis was to explore the perceived social and educational implications of home/school differences in pedagogic orientation, in children who have maids, at two international schools in the Middle East. As a result of this aim, other questions emerged and were investigated within this work:

- Why does the presence of maids appear to be so widespread in families of children who attend certain 'international schools'?
- What do these maids do?
- Why do the maids act in the way that they do?
- How does the school activity differ from the home activity as a result of the maid?
- What are the perceived social and cognitive consequences for children as a result of the influence of maids?
- How can international schools alleviate or cater for a situation where children are perceived to display characteristics of over reliance upon maids?

I used two international schools in the Arabian Gulf to access key-stakeholders. A mainly qualitative, multi-method approach was used to gather data for the study, which was based upon an assumption that learning and development are sociocultural formations, and that changes in sociocultural circumstances have implications for learning.

5.2 Analyzing the Data

I first reveal the results. I then focus on analyzing the information in an attempt to answer each sub-question, similar to Brause's advice (2000) and discussed by Wellington (2000, p.145); they credit this method with providing structure for this stage.

To begin the process, I gathered the interview responses, findings from the classroom observations, checklists and task, and examined them in order to record recurring themes and patterns (Bell 1999, p.127). In my analysis I was looking for *categories and common criteria* (ibid. p.147). The data were analyzed in an attempt to:

⁴³ Each unit of activity: the home and the school. Engeström's model of AT was also used to create a new activity system and is documented in Chapter Six.

- Answer the sub-questions
- Determine factors relating to the features of Engeström's model of AT, thus enabling a comparison between each activity system

I now present the results of the main inquiry.

5.3 Results of the Research Project: multi-method data collection

I first present the findings that relate to each question; this will be followed by the relevant analysis and discussion.

5.3.1 Question 1

Why does the presence of maids appear to be so widespread in families of children who attend certain international schools?

Data for this question were generated by background interviews and parent interviews.

- Background interviews with key stakeholders

Participants' responses were recorded and categorized into common themes. A grid of overall responses is located in *Appendix I*, while a summary of reduced data follows in *Figure 5A*. These background responses provided information for all questions and the AT models:

<i>About maids</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work for economic reasons; suffer long hours poor salaries and conditions • Will hold onto jobs at any cost • Often act as main carer/take maternal role/focal point in family • Perform basic skills for children and homework • Language issues exist • Take 'orders' from children 	<i>Suggested by:</i> Maids Children Parents Educators BEd students Researcher
<i>About children</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They abuse maids • Tell maids what to do – set rules; child is dominant one • Children throw things on floor e.g. bags for maids to carry • Are dependent upon maids including for basic skills • Language issues exist • Often have an emotional attachment to maids • Children with maids lack self help/independence skills 	<i>Suggested by:</i> Maids Children Parents Educators BEd students Researcher
<i>About parents</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are in position to enforce rules • Treat maids in varying degrees – often badly • Some expect/let maids do everything for children • Some use maids more for domestic work • Enjoy freedom/luxury life/greater affluence overseas • Often pass responsibility of childcare to maids • Family rules appear to change when parents have maids 	<i>Suggested by:</i> Maids Children Parents Educators BEd students Researcher
<i>About teachers and schools</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers and schools need to educate parents and maids • Teachers and schools need to discourage maids from doing everything for children/ staying in schools • Division of roles differ in maid/child and teacher/child activity • Dependency rules differ in home and school 	<i>Suggested by:</i> Children Teachers BEd students Administrator

Figure 5.A Recurring Themes from the Background Interviews

Responses indicated that the typical affluence of expatriate parents living overseas affords them the privilege of employing maids to perform domestic work and childcare duties. These parents enjoy the freedom: *they are seduced by a life-style* was one message. They also feel under pressure as: *they see how things are done*, according to an experienced teacher. Parent interviewees supported this:

...your perception as an expat changes within weeks. You arrive with no intention of having a maid but will get one.

Although local parents sometimes employ maids for domestic work, it was acknowledged that due to occasional illiteracy of some mothers, expectations can include helping children with homework. Interestingly, there is no evidence that maids are any more educated than many local parents. In fact, when asked about qualities that parents required in maids, education was mentioned by relatively few. The maid phenomenon seems to be culturally embedded in both groups - local

parents and expatriates, a point echoed in the literature review: Roumani (2005) felt that maids had become the social norm, a claim she reiterated in our interview. AL-Shatti (2003) also confirms this. Both local and expatriate parents frequently employ maids because both parents work. It was also apparent that maids alleviate parent pressure by doing housework. Some respondents felt that hiring maids appears to be *on the increase*, something which Biggs (1995) also suggested.

- *Group Interviews with Parents*

Due to word limit of this thesis, parents' responses from the first stages of data reduction including post-its and the note taking/feedback can be located in *Appendix N*. They comprise:

- Responses categorized into common themes **with examples**: school by school – *Step 1*
- Common themes from each school – *Step 2*

The final stage of data reduction - combining the common themes from S1 and S2 is documented in *Figure 5.B* overleaf.

Tallied responses from post-its in *Appendix N* allow the reader to see the amount of times responses were documented on post-its alone.

What were your reasons for hiring a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affordability • Domestic work • Organizational/Practical • Child care • Nature of country • No extended family • Alleviate pressure
What type of thing does the maid do in the house?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food related task • Domestic work • General support • Childcare
What type of thing does your maid do for your children?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plays with them • Food related • Housework • Performs daily routines • Looks after them
What kind of rule/guidelines did you give the maid when she started?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect rules • Maid rules • Practical rules • Safety rules • Dependency rules
What are the positive aspects of having a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relieves pressure • General support system • Support with children • Practicalities
What are the negatives of having a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rules – is she using her rules, is she following mine? • Children's dependency
What qualities do you look for when you hire a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal • Educated and literate • Likes children • Speaks English
What influenced you when you made these rules? (School 1 only)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Past experience • Influences changed over time • Happiness (for everyone) • Need for trust • Other expatriates • Children • Retaining control/standards • Benefit of maid

Figure 5.B Responses from Semi-structured Interviews: S1 and S2 combined – Final Stage

Responses from parent group interviews in both schools provided messages similar to those in the background interviews. Financial issues enter the equation; low maid salaries paid to women from developing countries enable affluent parents to afford maids. These points confirm the views of Hondagneau-Sotelo (2001) and Lutz (2002). Expatriate parents said that employing maids in their home countries was *too expensive* and additionally:

...if you have staff in UK THEY make the rules and tell you what they are doing and not doing – here WE dictate.

None of the expatriate parents interviewed had hired maids previously. Since having expatriate status, in S2 all the parents had maids; in S1 eight out of 11 parent interviewees had maids and two were waiting for one. Only one had made a conscious decision not to have one as she saw:

...repercussions when I lived in Hong Kong. The maid did everything for the four girls and had too much involvement. She used to try to dress them and they would sit there and let her do this.

On another note, some expressed a need to provide jobs for the maids; parents were aware that the *wage fed the maid's whole family*. A few shared a concern that the maid leaves her own life, family, country and culture but one day she will have to return and may find this difficult. Realistically, my contact with maids over the years suggests that they are eager to return home.

Practical and organizational reasons were major factors which also reflected background interviews. Maids are used as a support system; most parents live overseas without the extended family and the geographical make-up, walled villas or street set-up for example, prevents neighbourly contact and true community spirit. One parent said:

I have been living in the same villa for 4 years and I don't know my neighbours.

It was suggested that even when people had contact with neighbours they felt compelled to have a maid due to:

...unwritten rules – you cannot ask friends to help if they have a maid and you don't.

It emerged that long summer vacations in home countries and both parents working during term time mean that somebody has to 'house-sit', look after pets, let workmen in, for instance. Additionally, schools are not usually in close proximity; therefore, parents cannot simply put younger children in pushchairs and walk to school.

An overwhelming reason was to alleviate pressure and perform domestic work. The nature of the country – *hot and dusty, living in big houses* meant extra help was needed. Parents said employing maids meant time normally spent cleaning could be used to spend time with children. However, this was not so evident in the observation and checklist findings. If parents were spending more quality time with the children, arguably there might be little difference in the results of children *-Maids* and *+Maids*; this did not transpire.

All interviewees signified that child care was a key incentive. They offered an extensive list of things that maids do with and for children, which included transporting children to and from school, dressing them, looking after children, playing with them, engaging them, babysitting and getting them ready in the morning. The list resembled typical maternal activities a point supported by the literature (al-Najjar 2001, Langford et al. 2002, and Roumani 2005).

5.3.2 Question 2

What do these maids do?

Background interviews, group interviews and the task provided information for this question.

Responses from background interviews indicated that in addition to performing domestic duties such as cleaning and cooking, maids also care for children, ranging from babysitting to acting as:

...the main carer who can be the focal point of the family... and can take on a maternal role.

One teacher said:

...mothers absolved responsibility to the maid

in turn,

...in cultural groups where [the mothers] had formally been the focus of the family, they had now become marginalized.

Young children provided a long list of duties that maids performed and which would usually be carried out by a parent:

...plays with me... reads bed time story... takes me to the beach... packs my school bag... watches while I play with friends... runs the bath for me.

Maids frequently supported this with such statements as:

I slept in servants' quarters... across the road, with the 3 other maids. I would be called to change Pampers or to see to any of the baby's other requirements, regardless of time.

This interviewee said maids were called to bring water, or administer to the needs of *...children or adults in the house throughout the night*. Literature reviewed supports this point (Constable 2002, pp.122-123).

It transpired that maids even travel overseas with families to care for children on holidays. They often protect children and were not willing to tell parents if the children had mistreated them. On the other hand, it was acknowledged that children frequently mimic parents' treatment of maids and maids frequently follow children's rules (also found in Constable 2002, p.137). When parents reprimand maids and treat them with disrespect, children often follow. One former maid said she felt compelled to wait on the children the same as she waited on the parents; the children also expected this.

Messages from background interviews suggested that maids often do everything for children (similar to the views of Langford et al. 2002, Poore 2005 and Hayden 2006), to the point of performing basic skills and completing homework. In turn, maids were concerned that they may get the homework wrong. Local BEd students saw the maids as not only being part of the culture but also as causing social and religious problems, a unanimous opinion which greatly concerned these students. Al-Shatti (2003) also acknowledges this notion.

Many factors above were supported by group interviews with parents, in both schools. There is a considerable onus on the maids to multi-task. Parents admitted that maids are involved in all sorts, from domestic duties and child care – the two most popular responses on the list, to keeping the parents updated with school issues. One parent said tasks increase with trust and are dependent on the child's age. It materialized that a large part of the job clearly involved child care and that maids frequently spent a lot of their time in contact with the children; maids were involved in doing things that arguably a mother would normally do. Activities categorized into playing and engaging with children was a standard response to this question. Parents admitted that a positive aspect of having a maid was that they could leave the children with them. Differences in child rearing rules between families and maids were acknowledged by quite a number of interviewees. The majority agreed that maids tend to do everything for the child, to the point of dependency.

- Task

The task yielded quantitative and qualitative data which was instrumental in answering Question 2. Teacher/child dyads and maid/child dyads worked on a joint task comprised of three subtasks:

Subtask 1	Subtask 2	Subtask 3
Look at model	Select piece	Put piece in place

Adults were given a score for each subtask, depending on how it was carried out. The scores were devised so that the higher the score, the greater the independence allowed by the adult; subsequently, a high score signified that the child was allowed to do the task himself/herself. The score for each group was added and converted into mean scores: *Table 5.1*

Table 5.1 Dyads' Scores for Each Subtask – with averages:

Teachers' Scores				
	S. Task 1	S. Task 2	S. Task 3	Average
Teacher 1	62	72	78	70
Teacher 2	66	64	70	66
Teacher 4	68	78	80	75
Teacher 5	76	78	80	78
Teacher 6	76	80	80	79
Average	70	74	78	

Maids' Scores				
	S. Task 1	S. Task 2	S. Task 3	Average
Maid 1	76	70	10	52
Maid 2	36	46	62	48
Maid 3	11	11	15	12
Maid 4	32	46	42	40
Maid 5	62	68	76	68
Maid 6	0	19	25	15
Average	36	43	38	

Table 5.2 Average Scores of Maids and Teachers for Each Subtask

	Subtask 1	Subtask 2	Subtask 3
Average (Teachers)	70	74	78
Average (Maids)	36	43	38

The score from Teacher 3 was not valid, as the teacher changed the task. The child moved the pieces of the original model back and forth, thus never finished; the teacher wanted to encourage creativity. However, when analyzing the qualitative data,⁴⁴ I took the teacher's strategies and responses from both participants in the dyad into consideration.

The mean scores for each subtask were plotted onto a graph:

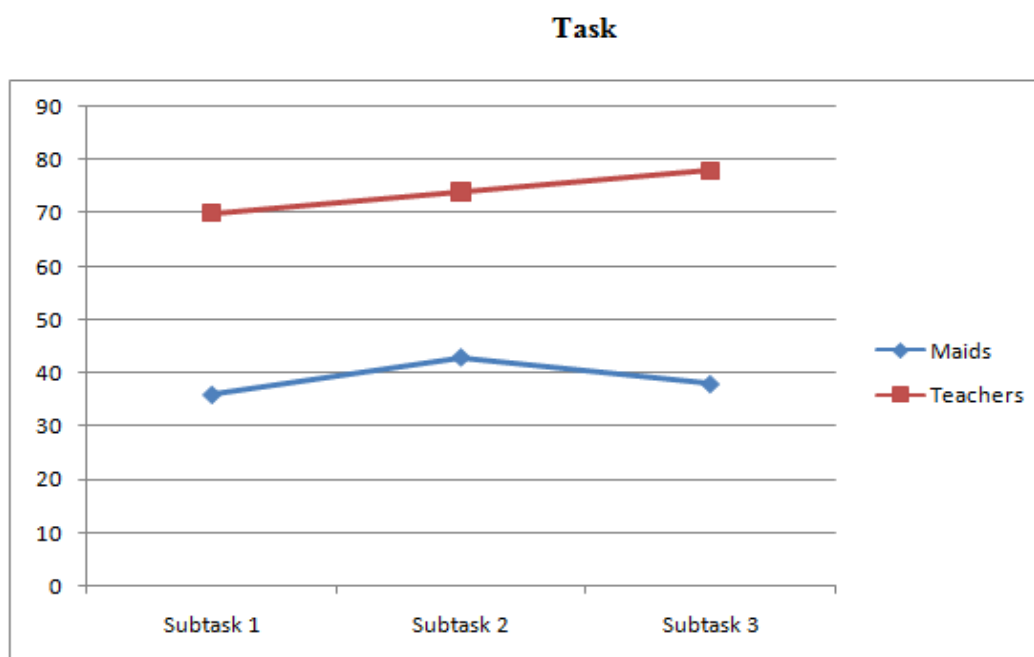


Figure 5.C Graph of Average Scores of Dyads

Additionally, strategies that both adult groups used for the task at various stages were used as qualitative data and are displayed in *Table 5.3* overleaf.

⁴⁴ Sample of completed task record: *Appendix O*.

Table 5.3: Comparison of Strategies Used by Maids and Teachers

STRATEGIES		TEACHERS	MAIDS
<i>Before Task</i>	S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Talking to the child about the task - Explaining aim of the task - Encouraging child to look at the pieces, board and completed model - Open ended questioning – varying degrees - Talking about the different animals - Using activity to reinforce previous learning e.g. names of animals, size - One teacher reorganized pieces and used story to introduce aim and method - Use of open ended questions to get child to think about the model/pieces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maid said, “See this – come on!” - Asked child if he saw the set up and told him to copy the same position and look at the colours - Physically placed child on the chair – no verbal interaction
	S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open ended questioning – including asking child’s opinions - Told child they were making same model – reminded her before they started - Pointed at both models saying they had to be the same - Relating task to previous experiences (farm visit) and reinforcing previous language work - Using model to ask general questions e.g. what do we get from cows? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maid tried to start without child. I asked her to wait - No explanation; used pidgin Arabic to tell him where to place pieces - Went to sort the animals herself - Said “Put the empty one the same as this”. - No instructions
<i>During Task</i>	S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open ended questions when child got stuck - Praise - Encouraged self thinking skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Said, “Yes!” if correct - Said, “It’s OK” and moved every piece to the exact stance if it was not exactly like the model. - Took pieces and placed them herself - Constantly moved around table following the child - Gave direct instructions – “pick up duck and put there” - Pointed at the animal, model and place where it should go - Adult did most of the task herself, no communication; child watched – at 6th piece maid said, “Come on put tree on!” - Task resembled race between maid and child; child placed 3 pieces – adult 13
	S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gave praise - Talked about the animals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Told him what to do using pidgin Arabic/saying same – same - When it was not in the right place she would make ‘Tut’ noise tell him no and change it - Put pieces on herself - Handed pieces to child - Use of praise – 1 maid - Gave him the pieces and told him in Arabic where they went
<i>After Task</i>	S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Asked child to look at models to check - Open ended questions to enable the child to think what was not right about the model - Asked child why he did things 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Only one maid did anything after the task was finished - told child to check it - One asked if the piece was in the right place and answered herself
	S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Went over names of animals – used model as a resource for language development - Asked child if she was pleased with it and was it correct 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - None of the maids referred to the task after it was finished

Responses to Questions

Questions addressed to teachers, maids and children after the task were recorded and used for qualitative data as in *Table 5.4*.

Table 5.4: Task: Comparison of Responses to Questions – Maids and Teachers

Questions		Teachers	Maids
1. <i>What do you think the task was about?</i>	S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To see if he could copy the model - Copy without help - Select pieces and position in correct place - This was about making the same thing - I wanted to use it to problem solve 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - She's good - Memorize and put properly arrange properly - Showing her to put on animals
	S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Copying a model - Getting the child to copy the model 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Making farm - No response
2. <i>What were you doing?</i>	S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guiding the child - Explaining to the child what was needed - Getting him to think about the task - Using open ended questions and self correction - Encouraging creative thinking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I'm sometimes look; she's good - Ask him where is proper place and remember colours also - Putting animals on board - Showing her what to do - very easy
	S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I did not model - I wanted to give him the words but did not - in this culture parents etc... do it for you - Used previous knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I told him to do in Arabic - he is very happy - It is very easy
3. <i>How do you think you taught the child?</i>	S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Using language to describe what he needed to do - Questioning - Self correction - Getting child to think about was she was asked to do - I directed him a little but in a creative way 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not teaching - NEVER - she is good - Tell him he need to check proper place, then colour and see how his memory - Showing her to do it
	S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Finding previously acquired knowledge - I willed him to do it with positive energy - Strategies - guided teaching - I teacher questioned whether she gave too much guidance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I teach him small, small. I tell him. I just speak him - I tell him. He like I tell him. I tell him look there and look there. Told him names of animals, put these - He knows already
4. <i>What do you think the child gained form the task?</i>	S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Understanding of how to look carefully - How to concentrate - Thinking skills - Hand-eye coordination - Understanding of copying something - She completed it so she was pleased - Categorizing things - Take risks and modify - Fun, learning and enjoyment - More creative thinking - Thinking about task 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - She's look, she's doing. She's good - Memorizing - She know what to do
	S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Re-call - I wanted to find previous knowledge - Observation - Visual perception - Review of vocabulary opportunity - Directional language - If you show what is expected they will do it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No response

Table 5.5 Task: Comparison of Children's Responses to Questions - Maid Dyads and Teacher Dyads

Questions		Teacher/Child Dyad	Maid /Child Dyad
1. <i>What did you do?</i>	S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Made model - Helped Mrs X - Change things by looking at the model - Helping teacher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I needed to make a model – to copy the farm - Copied the animals - Put the animals on the board – we had to make the same
	S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (Teacher prompted child) – child said she had to make animals the same - I do this farm - No response 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No response - I put pigs, cat and dog on here
2. <i>What did you learn when you were doing the task?</i>	S1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I was trying to make same thing - No response 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - X (maid) looked at the farm and it was mixed up – she made the animals the right way around - X told me, “Come on you have to copy them”. She said, “You’re right!” - Put the animals on the board X (the maid) did it. She (the maid) knew what to do
	S2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No response - Signalled with fingers – put them in a circle and said pigs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No response - Did not appear to understand

The task results indicated that maids allowed the children less independence than the teachers. The element of maids doing everything for children was reflected throughout the task. Maids adopted the role of main performer, with minimal child participation; any active participation was accompanied by direct regulation from maids. The task showed that although both teacher and maid dyads reached the same goal, it was accomplished in different ways and the way in which the adult/child role was divided played a significant part in this activity with differing responsibility role in both groups. Subtasks generally revealed the adult as main performer in the maid dyads with the child playing a passive role, while in the teacher dyads the child usually appeared as the main performer. Task results supported interview findings in that, generally, the maids appear to do as much as they can for the child. In her study, de Haan (2001) assumed that participants' organizational patterns and common roles would reflect their pedagogical models and understanding of intersubjectivity. In my study, frequently occurring patterns in the maid group depicted the adult completing the task or adult giving direct regulation. At all stages, strategies reflected little communication between maids and children in order to organize and have a common understanding of the task or shared intersubjectivity (de Haan 2001).

Lack of interaction between maids and children during the task was mirrored in the background interviews with teachers, who stated that:

The maid collects him in the afternoon. She does not speak to him, she just hands him a can of Coke,

and:

...the other day one of the maids had chips and the child saw this and started crying for them, the maid ran over straight away and put it in the mouth!

Similarly, the researcher I interviewed linked the high number of elective mutes that she witnessed in her nurseries to the fact that the children did not even have to ask for anything – the maids automatically gave them everything they needed and did everything for them.

5.3.3 Question 3

Why do the maids act in the way that they do?

Information for this question was provided by background interviews, group interviews and the task.

Background interviews revealed that maids work for economic reasons and they are willing to hold on to their jobs at any cost ...*they are afraid to put a foot wrong.*

One former maid said that after carrying five and six year old children down the stairs, she cleaned their teeth and washed them while they stood there: *the children did nothing.* Then, she would feed them with a spoon. Each night she undressed them, showered them and dressed them in pyjamas. They stood while she did everything. When they wanted a glass of water they called for her even if she was upstairs and they were downstairs. She had to carry all of their bags when they finished school – *because I was the maid; this is what the maids they do.* Each meal time, she took food to them while they watched television, often feeding them; when they finished, they threw the dishes to the side and waited for her to collect them. She acknowledged that she did not act like this with her own children:

I cannot say no to them. I am the maid – the parents want me to do this. I do the same for the parents – they are all the same – I have to take and carry everything for the father. If I not do this... they shout at me. Maybe I lose my job. This was my job.

Although the background interviews, including children's responses, implied that the parents are in a position to set rules, it emerged that maids often follow familiar rules. If the expectations in the previous family were to do everything for the child, maids are apt to carry this behaviour over to the new family.

Arguably, routines and schemas as discussed by White (1996) are at play here; they signify messages about maid position and role. Subsequently, maids provide messages for children that this is what happens when you have a maid. This generates a situation where culture is being created through and in the activity of the actors as discussed by Cole (1996, p.135-137) in his weaving analogy; the maids' position dictates that they behave in this manner and in turn, their behaviour creates a culture of dependence. Interestingly, the BEd students mentioned that children often **request** maids *just like their peers.* Recently, a four year old child excitedly related how her mother was *going to rent a driver and a maid.*

It surfaced that maids can have an emotional attachment and bond to the children in their care which is sometimes reciprocated by the child and frowned upon by the mothers; therefore, maids may perform these actions because of a maid/child bond. However, most maids I interviewed did not treat their own children in the same way.

Parents described diverse maid job-descriptions and significant expectations of multi-tasking, thus indicating potential pressure for maids in terms of time. Rule setting by parents was influenced by various aspects such as safety, although child dependency was mentioned. It was apparent that most maid rules were based upon maid behaviour and expectations, possibly creating a power relationship which allows the employer an authoritarian role (Constable 2002; Jureidini 2002; Roumani 2005 also discuss this). Maids were often not allowed friends or boyfriends, *no use of telephone, no other house maids in the house, no tittle-tattle*; even their hygiene habits were under scrutiny. Negative aspects of having a maid included reference to ‘maid rules’ - the way maids behaved, lack of parent privacy, maids did not knock door before entering, for example. Maid qualities that parents required were again generally based on the maids’ behaviour; *an educated maid* was mentioned by two participants the same number as a good looking maid.

Time taken for the task by both groups was documented and used as comparative data. The results possibly indicate that maids wanted to finish the task quickly and saw their job as ‘getting it done’ even without the help of the child. Teachers used it more as a teaching opportunity.

Table 5.6 Task: Comparison of Time Taken for the Task by Maid and Teacher Dyads

Teacher Dyads	Time – in minutes	Maid Dyads	Time – in minutes
<i>T1</i>	12	<i>M1</i>	8
<i>T2</i>	13	<i>M2</i>	8
<i>T3</i>	20	<i>M3</i>	2
<i>T4</i>	9	<i>M4</i>	5
<i>T5</i>	10	<i>M5</i>	5
<i>T6</i>	15	<i>M6</i>	4
Average time taken for the task	Teacher Dyads	Maid Dyads	
	13.3 minutes	5.3 minutes	

These task results together with maids’ task behaviour indicate that the maids’ motive was to finish quickly and correctly, an intention possibly influenced by the subjects’ everyday practices which, in turn, may have influenced their interpretation of the task. The maids may have transferred their assumptions and expectations from their everyday activity settings, similar to the study of Wertsch et al. (1984). Furthermore, this was not only evident in the organization of the task but in the time taken by both groups: an average time of 5.3 minutes for maid dyads as opposed to 13.3 minutes for teacher dyads. I wish to highlight that I included T3 dyad in this comparison although the task was never finished. (It is worth considering what would a maid’s response have been to a child merely moving the pieces back and forth.) Without T3, the average teacher time would have been 11.8 minutes.

Generally, maids did most of the task. One maid who did practically everything herself took under two minutes to complete it.

Comparable to Wertsch's participants, both adult groups involved may have defined

...the task setting by important expectations and assumptions that were part of other, more familiar activity settings (Wertsch et al. ibid. p.158).

Arguably, the maids' subject position and financial dependency on the family contribute to their motive. Their general responses highlighted financial capital as the main goal, which was also suggested by Biggs (1995) and Parreñas (2001). In the everyday activity of the home, maids may not view independent functioning as contributing to the smooth running of the household, a point supported by the background interviews. A teacher who had a maid as a child said:

My learning was at its worst when I was young. I had a maid and she would say, "Missy, no good missy, go away, take too long missy." It was easier for her to do it than to watch me.

Similarly, statements from maids included:

Sometimes he (her charge) attempts to dress himself but he takes a long time.

and:

If my son he is walking and he fall down I leave - this is the life – I have to run if this happens to the babies in Jordan. I have to run and pick up. This is my job.

One maid explained that she did so much for the children, because she had *to earn money* – she was afraid that *madam would scold her*.

5.3.4 Question 4

How does the school activity differ from the home activity as a result of the maid?

Background interviews, group interviews and the task were instrumental in answering this question.

It transpired from the background interviews that many children appeared to lack the opportunity to perform basic skills at home as everything was being done by the maid.

It was proposed that 'adult dependency' behaviour was in deep contrast to the school scenario, where independent behaviour is usually promoted. One educationalist said:

It was the lack of independence skills that I found very frustrating, time consuming as I had try to change it in my class, and also it did impede on the lessons.

One teacher stated:

...maids and nannies seem to bring the children, collect them after school, bring in lunches and PE kits during the day, and even try to follow the children in the morning to spoon-feed them their breakfast.

Another teacher referring to children with maids suggested:

...this situation gives them strategies to be helpless. The maids become responsible for sending bags/homework to school. Why should they do it themselves when other people will do it for them? It has become a learnt behaviour.

Although parents in the group interviews in both schools also expressed concern about children's dependency on maids, in reality, when asked about setting rules for maids, dependency rules were stipulated by a minority.

From the interviews, it was clear that language and interaction issues can exist; often little interaction, particularly verbal, occurs between the maid and the child - usually the reverse of the school setting. Equally, the deep seated maid/child emotional attachment mentioned is clearly not the same as the teacher/pupil rapport.

Expectations of the way in which adults are treated in school are contrary to the way maids are treated at home. Biggs (1995) was concerned that children could carry this behaviour over to the school situation. One of the teachers interviewed admitted that in the private, Arabic schools, expatriate Arab teachers are often treated in the same manner as maids. Children often seem to transfer the helpless attitude into school. From my own experience: a 'maid child' attending school on his first day stopped just inside the door and spread his arms out waiting for me to take his bags off his shoulders.

Generally, in international schools the sharing of tasks and division of roles would be different to that of the maid situation. A child interviewed stated that teachers and maids are different because the maid does things for you, whereas *teachers would do some and you would do some*. Children often hold the power: *maids do everything that we tell them to* said one five year old child.

Similarly, in conjunction with holding the power, children often set the rules for maids, an aspect supported by teachers: *children use and manipulate the maids – they have a lot of power*. Likewise, O'Driscoll (2009) quoting Ayub Kalaff (2009), a Dubai psychologist, told an anti-obesity forum:

Weekends in Dubai supermarkets can look like a circus with children pressuring maids into buying junk food for them.

Regarding Question 4, the task result reflected certain factors from interview findings. The sharing of tasks and division of roles was largely different in both sets of dyads. Comparable to the results of de Haan and Wertsch et al, findings suggested that the teachers' practice appeared to be organized to encourage independent actions and behaviour and emphasized learning; they used the task as an opportunity to teach and were not concerned about getting it right. This was in sharp contrast to the maids' organization as discussed in Question 2. Furthermore, the amount of child independence allowed by teachers increased with each subtask, with mean scores of:

Subtask 1: 70

Subtask 2: 74

Subtask 3: 78.

Three teachers attained a full score on the final task. Generally, this did not happen with maids. In fact, two maids scored less on the final sub-task than on the second one.

Strategies used before and during the task differed greatly between the two groups. Teachers generally defined the task, used opportunity to reinforce previous and new learning, encouraged thinking skills and meta-cognitive skills and used discussion, praise and open-ended questions. In comparison, maids' strategies were weak: no definition of the task, mostly direct regulation - often explicitly telling the child the next move, little or no constructive interaction, physically correcting the child's actions and often doing the subtask themselves. Only one maid attempted to use it as a learning opportunity. After the task, teachers encouraged the child to check if it was correct and generally used the opportunity for more teaching and learning. They reinforced previous learning, encouraged meta-cognitive skills and used open-ended questioning. Most maids did not refer to the task after it was completed. One maid told the child to check each piece, asked if it was right but answered herself.

Additionally, organization of the sub-tasks taken to complete the task differed. In *subtask 1*: in the teacher group – the child usually *looked at the model* without regulation of any kind or with indirect regulation from the adult. In the maid group the adult frequently did not wait for the child to look but instead picked up the piece herself, or told the child to look and what to pick up. In *subtask 2 – picking up the piece*: the children in the teacher group mostly completed this stage on their own or with some indirect regulation; the maids generally used direct regulation or the adult completed this step herself. In *subtask 3 – placing the piece on the board*: the teachers allowed maximum independence (three teachers scoring 100%) or indirect regulation. The maids used mostly direct regulation or did it themselves. Two of the maids completed a subtask for the child for the first time at this stage, with one wrenching the last piece out of the child's hand and placing it correctly, as though she wanted to get this last part finished quickly. One maid moved every single piece that the child had placed to the exact stance used in the model. Afterwards, the child stated that the maid *made the animals the right way around*. Another maid put the pieces in the child's hand, put her hand on top and directed each piece to its place.

Teacher response to questions relating to the task appeared to signify that the teachers fully understood the nature of the task and used it as a learning opportunity. They articulated methods that they used and were aware of skills the child might have gained from the task. This was in contrast to the maids, whose responses indicated that the child had an innate understanding of the operation, or they were clever - they would cope, although, this was contradicted in the way that the maids used direct regulation or completed the task themselves. Most of the maids appeared to understand the workings of the task; two of them used the words 'properly' in their responses – so arguably were set on getting it exactly right. They knew it was about copying the model farm but did not use it as a tool for learning. Responses indicated that they had no real method of working on the task and related it to the child gaining memory skills and showing that they were good or clever.

On the other hand, subjects in two cultures can interpret instructions differently as Titchener (1916, cited by Cole 1996, p.45) discovered and *culturally organized ways of interpreting* any task could *influence performance* (ibid. p.46). Wertsch et al.

(1984, p.160) also warn against assuming that the subjects have the same understanding of the task as the researcher. Possible linguistic differences stood in the way of maids fully understanding the task; in this case, this might be an issue occurring regularly in the home and highlights the possibility that maids may not fully understand what is expected of them in their everyday practice.

5.3.5 Question 5

What are the perceived social and cognitive consequences for children as a result of the influence of maids?

Background and group interviews, classroom observations, teacher checklists and the task provided significant data to help answer this question which is closely related to the main aim of the research. The word perceived is intended to mean apparent, as opposed to definite consequences which would be difficult to pin down.

Interviewees made several comments on aspects which reflected a pattern of maid dependency amongst children who have maids, and which could arguably be referred to as 'the maid syndrome' (TMS). Comments indicated that perceived consequences include a possible lack of: independence, self-help and risk taking skills. Ironically, despite a deficit in these kinds of skills, children often exercise power over the maid.

The researcher revealed that her schools had a higher than usual number of elective mutes; children were not required to speak – maids gave everything to them. I have also witnessed a tendency for this behaviour pattern in one of the sample schools, where most children had their own maid.

Language issues warrant a mention: maids often only speak pidgin Arabic or English. Teachers voiced concern about this. However, BEd students considered this an advantage; they believed that it led to learning the maid's language. From experience, I would question the actual fluency of the child.

Teachers stated that children who had maids were easily identified due to adult dependency, lack of basic skills and frequent disorientation when expected to do things for themselves; they often got distressed, for example, when they got paint on themselves – they would not know how to get it off. Teachers regarded certain cultural groups as being more dependent on maids than others, although this was not blatantly evident in the task or classroom behaviour in this research.

BEd students explained that some mothers were unhappy with the emotional attachment which could replace the mother-child bond. This causes problems in itself when maids leave the family.

It transpired that attitudes generally encouraged by schools and elements required in the PYP learner profile such as being risk takers, could be affected by the influence of maids.

Most interviewees perceived dependency as a negative aspect of having a maid, which makes the child passive. Genuine concern of children's loss of independence skills was evident. One mother tried to encourage the maid *not to pick up after children. Promote independence! We have to integrate into another society eventually.*

Another said:

I have not had a maid for four months – now we eat at the breakfast table, no TV in the morning – children dress first, they put clothes in a bucket; there are different rules when she is not there. They have to do things for themselves.

Some believe that maids:

...make children lazy. I am still paying for this. They do what they like – leave clothes where they stand.

One child said:

...if you cannot do something just tell the maid and a teacher suggested that the maid situation gives them strategies to be helpless.

From a teacher who had maids as a child:

She [the maid] did everything. I did not realise at the time how harmful it was. When I was 19 I went to the UK. I could do very little.

- Classroom Observation

Findings from the classroom observations suggest that there are significant differences between those children +*Maids* and –*Maids* in the way that they functioned in class. I assumed that teachers used typical daily activities as requested, therefore, none of the children should have had difficulty functioning.

Qualitative data from classroom observation of children +*Maids* and those –*Maids* were collected and categorized into recurring themes. *Appendix P* contains samples of completed observation records. *Appendix Q* shows initial stages of the following data reduction:

- Each individual class – *Step 1*
- Each school: all classes combined – *Step 2*

The final stage of the data reduction involved combining the data from both schools using the same themes as in Steps 1 and 2:

Children +Maids	Children –Maids
-Patterns of functioning Needs help to <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Find resources • Select resources • Use resources appropriately • Solve tasks • Stay on task • Work constructively • Move to different centres • Feel re-assured • Follow instructions 	-Patterns of Functioning <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can find resources • Selects resources • Uses resources • Returns resources • Uses variety of resources appropriately and independently • Shows initiative • Moves around without help • Stays on task • Completes task • Works cooperatively • Follows instructions
-Interaction Patterns <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not/rarely initiates interaction • Interaction is sparse 	-Interaction Patterns <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiates interaction • Interacts with others • Works in group/pairs
-Sense of Purpose <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wanders aimlessly • Sits and does nothing • Abandons task • Little 'productive' happening 	-Sense of purpose <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functions with sense of purpose • Always busy • Uses initiative
-Use of previously acquired skills and knowledge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulty using previously acquired skills and knowledge • Limited variety of skills used 	-Use of previously acquired skills and knowledge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses previously acquired knowledge and skills

Figure 5.D Observation: Recurring Themes from S1 and S2 Combined – Final Stage

Unfortunately, in S2 I was only able to access 3 children without maids from 400 children in the target groups: 2 children in the 4-5 year old group and 1 child in the 5-6 years group.

I considered that differences noted in the observation, were a result of whether or not children had maids at home, although arguably, other factors could be present. However, patterns in both groups were significant enough to suggest that the differences could be perceived consequences of maid influence. As one experienced international school teacher explained:

You can mostly see in the class who depends upon a maid and who has had parental input.

• *Patterns of functioning*

Children +Maids usually required help and guidance when dealing with resources. They were often unable to finish or stay on task. They generally needed adult help to move around centres. In fact, they required adult input most of the time, including constant reassurance that they were operating correctly. The –Maids group

functioned with greater independence, following instructions and dealing appropriately with resources. They were evidently able to act in a far more autonomous manner. Comments from teachers referring to children +Maids generally endorsed observation findings:

The basic act of washing hands was a laugh – they would wash half of the paint off and then stand there with dripping hands – no idea of shaking excess water off or what would come next like getting the paper towel from the dispenser. They would often walk with dripping hands and the water would go all over the work. I am talking about ten and eleven year olds.

...when I taught in Thailand the children had their bottoms and noses wiped by maids until a very late age...

These children have no confidence when things go wrong – they immediately look around for the teacher.

His dressing skills are awful; he holds a sock in front of his face and stares at it. He cannot handle his own things. His organisational skills are very bad – not developed at all. He walks away from the toys when we tidy up. His listening skills are poor and he cannot follow instructions.

I noticed after PE the children would stand like statues waiting to have clothes put on them.

...the bags are thrown straight at the maid for her to carry like a pack horse; sometimes she is carrying bags belonging to three, four children.

One teacher admitted when she was young and she had a maid:

We had a little bell and whenever we wanted anything we would just ring the bell. Cup of tea: ring the bell, sandwich: ring the bell. When I went to boarding school in UK I thought I could ring a bell.

•Interaction patterns

Children +Maids had limited interaction patterns and communication was often prompted by an adult. This was in complete opposition to the -Maids children who were able to work cooperatively in groups or pairs and initiated interaction. The situation seems to be exacerbated when the main caregiver does not speak the language of the child. A teacher in S2 declared:

Many of the children could not speak any language when they came to school because the parents never spoke to them and the maid would speak Tagalog or Hindi, for example.

• Sense of purpose

Data for the +Maids group indicated an obvious lack of motivation: children were often willing to sit and do nothing or wander aimlessly around the class and there was a general feeling of a lack of anything productive being achieved. They were inclined to waste time unless constantly prompted or directed by an adult. In sharp contrast, the children -Maids generally operated with a clear sense of purpose, were well motivated and always seemed productive and busy.

A teacher's statement about children in S2 where most children have their own maid supports this:

These children here are molly coddled they cannot do anything for themselves – they are not prepared to go out on a limb. They think that if they sit there long enough somebody will do it for them and that is what happens. There is no risk taking, they cannot challenge themselves. There is no pride of achievement – how can you feel good about yourself in this situation?

- *Use of previously acquired knowledge and skills*

The +Maids group had difficulty in using skills or knowledge that developmentally they should have acquired, for example, spreading glue onto paper; they also used a limited range of skills. In comparison, -Maids children demonstrated competency in a wide range of previously acquired skills and used previous knowledge.

Interview data supported factors identified in the classroom observations. Local trainee BEd students said:

...the children are too dependent on these maids; they cannot do simple things in the school. I was shocked. Even doing simple things like sharpening the pencils – they cannot do this alone,

but they also admitted:

...it is not just in the schools with young children, just look in this college. There are so many maids here; they now all wait outside near the car park for the girls...

A similar point was highlighted by one teacher:

I went into X University a few times. This university catered for 17 to 21 year old [Arabian Gulf] students. The maids were in helping and would sit there holding the handbags and portfolios and waiting there in case the girls wanted tea or coffee from the canteen. Final year BA students brought in tailors and carpenters to make up the products for them.

A child confirmed that the maid:

...puts my shoes on – when my mother is there I put them by myself.

Teachers support the fact that maids do basic things for children:

It is not only locals – on my compound Western children are carried by nannies/maids – they would NEVER be carried by the parents,

One volunteered:

...the thing that struck me the most when I came here was, for example, the children cannot wipe their own noses even; they let it run down their chins until somebody wipes it. They wait for the nanny to do it.

Quantitative Data Arising from Classroom Observations:

In addition to the qualitative data, the behaviours that I noted in the classroom observations were categorized and tallied, thus, providing quantitative data. The data were based upon three behavioural themes:

- Worked independently on task

- Sought or received help
- Abandoned task

Table 5.7 Classroom Observation: Comparison of Children +*Maids* and Children –*Maids*

Age	Noted Behaviours	School 1		School 2	
		+Maid	-Maid	+Maid	-Maid
3-4 years old	<i>Number of behaviours noted</i>	15	17	8	-
	Worked independently on task	3	17	3	-
	Sought or received help	2	0	2	-
	Abandoned task	10	0	3	-
3-4 years old	<i>Number of behaviours noted</i>	15	19	9	-
	Worked independently on task	2	18	1	-
	Sought or received help	11	1	3	-
	Abandoned task	2	0	5	-
4-5 years old	<i>Number of behaviours noted</i>	15	15	10	10
	Worked independently on task	7	14	1	10
	Sought or received help	4	1	4	0
	Abandoned task	4	0	5	0
4-5 years old	<i>Number of behaviours noted</i>	10	14	12	10
	Worked independently on task	2	14	2	10
	Sought or received help	6	0	7	0
	Abandoned task	2	0	3	0
5-6 years old	<i>Number of behaviours noted</i>	8	8	14	10
	Worked independently on task	0	8	1	9
	Sought or received help	4	0	7	1
	Abandoned task	4	0	6	0
5-6 years old	<i>Number of behaviours noted</i>	4	11	19	-
	Worked independently on task	2	11	1	-
	Sought or received help	1	0	10	-
	Abandoned task	1	0	8	-
6-7 years old	<i>Number of behaviours noted</i>	11	10	10	-
	Worked independently on task	0	10	3	-
	Sought or received help	4	0	5	-
	Abandoned task	7	0	2	-
6-7 years old	<i>Number of behaviours noted</i>	7	8	10	-
	Worked independently on task	3	7	2	-
	Sought or received help	4	0	4	-
	Abandoned task	0	1	4	-

Notable differences between the groups were indicated. The children +*Maids* sought help or abandoned task on most occasions in comparison to the children –*Maids* for whom there was little evidence from observations in both schools of them abandoning task; data also indicated that this latter group rarely sought or received help. There did not appear to be any specific pattern to show the gap between the two groups increasing or decreasing over time.

In sum, determining perceived social and cognitive consequences for children as a result of the influence of maids, the classroom observations brought to light the following tendencies:

<i>Children +Maids</i>	<i>Children –Maids</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • require constant adult input to function in a formal learning environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • function independently in the same environment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • have limited interaction patterns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • operate cooperatively and interact well with others
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lack motivation and demonstrate apathy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are well motivated and productive
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are limited in the re-call and use of developmentally appropriate skills and knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • re-call and use a wide range of developmentally appropriate, previously acquired skills and knowledge

Figure 5.E Perceived Consequences Revealed by the Classroom Observation

- Checklist Results

Results from the independent learning checklists completed by class teachers for the children I observed in class, generally corroborated the data from my classroom observations. This instrument generated data which suggested that the outcome of children +*Maids* was that their independence skills were not as well developed as those –*Maids*, in all areas: emotional, pro-social, cognitive and motivational.

The checklists were based upon the actual frequency of when the groups of children +*Maids* and –*Maids* displayed independent behaviour. 22 statements were provided and divided into the following areas of development:

- *Emotional* (5 statements)
- *Pro-social* (5 statements)
- *Cognitive* (7 statements)
- *Motivation* (5 statements)

Teachers' ticks for each frequency were tallied. Scores for groups +*Maids* and –*Maids* in each school are noted in the figure below. It is important to note that the result for +*Maids* in S2 only includes 3 children. Given the small sample size, statistical testing is of doubtful value, however, there is a marked difference between the children +*Maids* and –*Maids*.

Table 5:8 Checklist Results: Comparison of Children +Maids and Children –Maids

	+Maids at home (The score is for 8 children in each school)			-Maids at home (The score is for 8 children in S1 and 3 in S2)	
AREA	FREQUENCY	S1	S2	S1	S2
EMOTIONAL (5 statements)	Always	5	3	7	12
	Usually	12	12	22	3
	Sometimes	14	16	11	0
	Never	9	9	0	0
PRO-SOCIAL (5 statements)	Always	3	2	9	13
	Usually	13	14	21	2
	Sometimes	15	20	9	0
	Never	9	4	1	0
COGNITIVE (7 statements)	Always	4	2	20	17
	Usually	12	23	30	4
	Sometimes	29	19	5	0
	Never	11	12	1	0
MOTIVATION (5 statements)	Always	2	0	10	13
	Usually	7	10	16	2
	Sometimes	21	20	14	0
	Never	10	10	0	0

In comparison to the –Maids group, children +Maids appear to perform slightly better in the emotional and pro-social areas than in cognitive and motivation. This was qualified by putting the data into a more formal Pearson’s chi-square test (Punch 1998; Caan 1999; Edwards and Talbot 1999) to compare the observed data with what I would expect to get.⁴⁵

- Emotional and pro-social combined

In the areas of emotional and pro-social, significant chi-square value was reported as:

$$\chi^2(3) = 59.33, p < .05.$$

Therefore, p is less than 0.05, the *maximum level of risk... in social research* (Bryman 2008, pp.333-334), suggesting that the results are statistically significant and could point to a relationship between the behaviour pattern and whether or not the child has a maid.

The gamma measure of correlation indicated that children +Maids tended to score in the lower frequencies eg. sometimes/never compared to children –Maids:

⁴⁵ Relevant details and tables are in *Appendix R*.

Gamma = -0.69, $p < .05$

- *Cognitive and motivation combined*

In the areas of cognitive and motivation, significant chi-square value was reported as:
 $\chi^2(3) = 118.17, p < .05$.

Therefore, p is less than 0.05, suggesting that the results are statistically significant and could point to a relationship between the behaviour pattern and whether or not the child has a maid.

The gamma measure of correlation indicated that children +*Maids* tended to score in the lower frequencies eg. sometimes/never compared to children –*Maids*:

Gamma= -0.83, $p < .05$

Table 5.9: Summary of Chi-square analysis of + *Maid* and – *Maid* groups

Area	Pearson Chi-square	Sig. Value	Gamma Measure	Significance
Emotional/Pro-social	59.333	0.000	-0.69	Yes
Cognitive/Motivation	118.167	0.000	-0.83	Yes

* *Sig. Value* - indicates significance value of Pearson's chi squared statistic

* *Yes* - indicates significant relationship based on gamma measure

Thus, the table indicates that compared to children –*Maids*, children +*Maids* did slightly better in the areas of emotional/social than in cognitive/motivation areas.

The checklist results correspond with the results of the observation; children +*Maids* displayed lack of motivation during class activities. Interestingly, this reflects the literature on learned helplessness (Gordon and Gordon 1996) discussed in Chapter Two. Learned helplessness was regarded as having a negative impact on motivation and cognitive areas.

As I was able to access only three children –*Maids* in S2, checklists were completed for these three children, thus involving only two teachers in the form completion. Oddly, significant differences appeared between the children –*Maids* in S1 and S2; children –*Maids* in S2 displayed independence skills 100% of the time in the *always/usually* categories, much higher than in S1. Such a high number could indicate marked differences in the way that teachers interpreted the statements or the fact that there were fewer children –*Maids* in S2. Similarly, all children in S1 in the

5-6 year old year group⁴⁶ were marked especially low by one particular teacher. However, this was evident in both *+Maids* and *-Maids*.

In the emotional, pro-social and motivation areas children *+Maids* in both schools displayed very similar results, although there was a difference in the cognitive area: children *+Maids* in S2 gained a higher frequency in the *usually* category.

Comparison of Year Groups

In order to examine any potential pattern in differences as the children progress through school, the scores of the children *+Maids* and *-Maids* have been categorized into year groups and documented. As regards any changes over time, there does not appear to be any obvious pattern.

Details of each year group:

School 1: 4 children in each year group: 2 *+Maids*; 2 *-Maids*

School 2: 3-4 year olds: 2 children (*+Maids*)
4-5 year olds: 4 children (2 *+Maids*; 2 *-Maids*)
5-6 year olds: 3 children (2 *+Maids*; 1 *-Maids*)

⁴⁶ As indicated in *Table 5.10* on page 97.

Table 5.10: Checklist Result: Comparison of Children +Maids and –Maids in Year Groups

AREA	EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT (5 Statements)															
Frequency	SCHOOL 1								SCHOOL 2							
	+Maids 8 children: 2 in each year group				-Maids 8 children: 2 in each year group				+Maids 8 children: 2 in each year group				-Maids 3 children: 2 in 4-5 year group; 1 in 5-6 year old group			
	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never
3-4 yrs old	0	5	3	2	1	7	2	0	0	3	4	3	-	-	-	-
4-5 yrs old	1	4	4	1	3	7	0	0	0	5	3	2	8	2	0	0
5-6 yrs old	0	1	6	3	0	6	4	0	0	0	6	4	4	1	0	0
6-7 yrs old	4	2	1	3	3	2	5	0	3	4	3	0	-	-	-	-
AREA	PRO-SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT (5 Statements)															
	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never
3-4 yrs old	0	2	4	4	0	3	6	1	2	2	4	2	-	-	-	-
4-5 yrs old	0	6	3	1	4	5	1	0	0	5	5	0	10	0	0	0
5-6 yrs old	0	0	6	4	1	7	2	0	0	1	7	2	3	2	0	0
6-7 yrs old	3	5	2	0	4	6	0	0	0	6	4	0	-	-	-	-
AREA	COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT (7 Statements)															
	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never
3-4 yrs old	0	2	5	7	3	7	3	1	0	5	4	5	-	-	-	-
4-5 yrs old	0	3	11	0	9	5	0	0	0	4	7	3	13	1	0	0
5-6 yrs old	0	0	10	4	0	12	2	0	0	5	5	4	4	3	0	0
6-7 yrs old	4	7	3	0	8	6	0	0	2	9	3	0	-	-	-	-
AREA	MOTIVATION DEVELOPMENT (5 Statements)															
	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never
3-4 yrs old	0	1	7	2	1	5	4	0	0	2	5	3	-	-	-	-
4-5 yrs old	0	2	7	1	7	3	0	0	0	4	6	0	10	0	0	0
5-6 yrs old	0	0	4	6	0	3	7	0	0	0	4	6	3	2	0	0
6-7 yrs old	2	4	3	1	2	5	3	0	0	4	5	1	-	-	-	-

Overall, checklist findings suggested that there are differences in children +*Maids* and children –*Maids* in independence skills in the four areas. This could be perceived as a result of maid influence. Although the consequences are *perceived*, different patterns clearly exist in children +*Maids* compared to those –*Maids*. Literature on maternal teaching styles as discussed in Chapter Two would support the outcome of the checklist. There, it was suggested that independent and autonomous functioning and mastery patterns, for example, appeared to be the result of certain teaching styles such as inquiry and praise and where teaching strategies had been used. Children who showed learned helplessness and a reliance on external sources had experienced less stimulation and a lack of teaching strategies; this reflects the type of behaviour that was signified in the checklist results as being noticeable amongst the +*Maids* group.

- Task

As regards the task, children in the maid dyads played a passive role, although, from the children's responses to the questions, most of them in both groups appeared to have an idea of what to do in the task. Children in this situation could be regarded as internalizing the social actions (de Haan 2001, p.178) of the maid doing everything for them; maids did not show any real level of withdrawal (ibid.) or negotiated practice.

Remarkably, some children were aware of maids completing the subtasks and they referred to the maid's role in the task whereas in the teacher dyads none of them referred to the teacher's role. Children in S2 seemed to have less understanding of questions I asked after the task, or did not respond very well. This may have been due to linguistic issues, as most of them speak English as an additional language, although they are being taught through the medium of English.

Risk taking was not evident in the maid group; there was little opportunity to demonstrate independent thinking or to practise meta-cognitive skills and the child was not allowed to take responsibility. This was in complete opposition to the teachers' rules and way in which the task was shared. There also appears to be a lack of intersubjectivity in the operation, which would not be helped by the maids failing to define the task.

Wertsch et al. saw maternal participants in their study *as structuring the activity so that learning may occur in the form of apprenticeship* (1984, p.155). Compared to their study (ibid.), I am not convinced that learning in the form of Lave's apprenticeship (ibid.) is occurring in the maid/child dyads in this task, as the maids actually appeared to complete almost every step with children having minimal input; one participant wanted to start without the child. A common urgency to finish appeared to be prevalent amongst the maid group.

In general, the findings on perceived consequences reflect much of the relevant literature discussed in the review: Clay (1986, in Gordon and Gordon 1996); Dweck (1991, in Siraj-Blatchford 1999); de Ruiter and van Ijzendoorn 1993; Biggs 1995; Ehrenreich 2002; Roumani 2005; Hayden 2006 and Youssef and Absal 2008. With

respect to skills listed in Chapter Three⁴⁷, the picture illustrated here may imply that the inclusion of maids may inhibit the development of such skills.

5.3.6 *Question 6*

How can international schools alleviate or cater for a situation where children are perceived to display characteristics of over reliance upon maids?

Results of Additional Responses

With respect to alleviating or catering for over reliance upon maids, data were gathered as a result of:

- Background interviews
- Parent interviews
- Informal conversations with a large teacher group in S2
- Contact by e-mail with teachers in various international schools⁴⁸

Results follow:

⁴⁷ Page 45.

⁴⁸ Samples of feedback can be located in *Appendix S*.

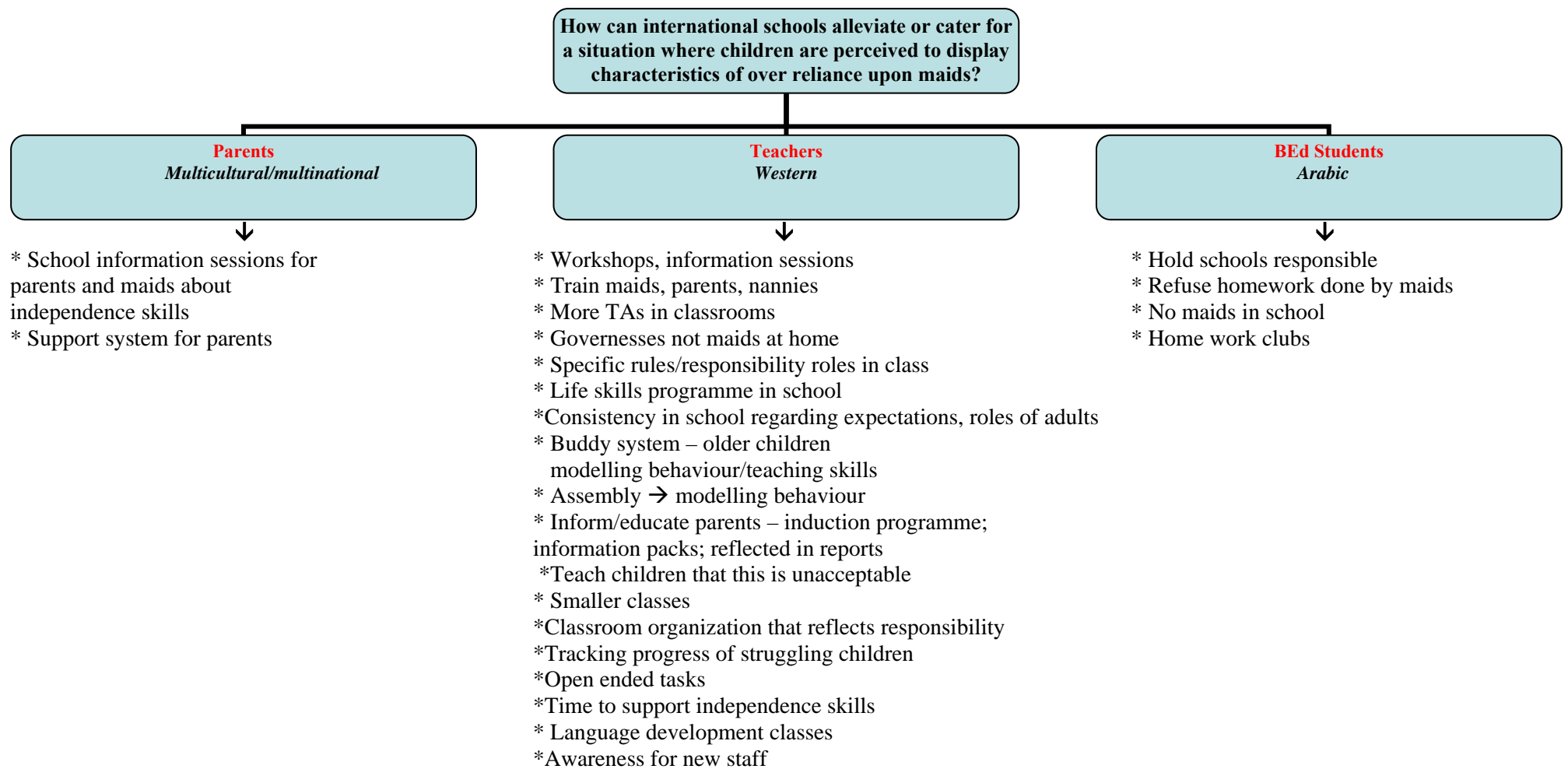


Figure 5.F Alleviating Children's Over Reliance upon Maids: Responses from Parents, Teachers and B.Ed Students

The participants' responses to this question revealed information which seemed to logically fit into the following categories:

- School as Agent of Change

The school was seen as a potential agent of change with the ability to modify behaviour and rules, occurring both within the school and perhaps in the home. Educating parents and maids through such events as information sessions, workshops and training was suggested by many participants - both parent and teacher groups. Parents in S1 would be happy if school held information sessions for:

...parents and maids, especially sessions that would show maids how to encourage independence skills.

One teacher suggested using a UK based programme aimed at teacher assistants, to educate the maids; possibly not culturally appropriate, this could, however, be a starting point. Another teacher in Thailand has held workshops for parents and maids and received a positive response from this. Including lists of necessary skills for children in school information packs was mentioned. Several respondents believed that schools should explicitly inform parents as to skills necessary for children to function appropriately in class; one person suggested that this should be rigidly followed through with parents.

However, training was not mentioned by local BEd students who seemed to hold the school accountable to some degree for many of the problems that accompanied TMS.

- Change in the School Rules

The BEd students wanted a change in rules; schools would refuse homework completed by maids and refuse to have maids in school:

It is the school's responsibility to make sure that no maid comes with the children...

...the school needs to encourage parents to send the child to school without the maid...

...and make sure that the maid does not do everything for the children at home.

They proposed homework clubs so that children would do their own homework as opposed to letting maids do it.

Similarly, teachers believed that school could change the way that children thought, teach children that this behaviour is unacceptable, implement a life skills programme for children and adopt specific rules in class to encourage responsibility.

Teachers also appear to want to change the current 'rules'. One said:

I had one child crying at the beginning of the year. I told her [the maid] she could not come in the classroom anymore and the child stopped. He became more independent to come to school. I told her not to baby him or pick him up.

Another stated:

I think that schools should call parents in and explain firmly that they are putting their kids in the position of being helpless. What would happen if they went on an overnight fieldtrip?

From another teacher interviewee:

We put a stop early on to children sending for maids to bring forgotten items to school from home. We need to educate the parents.

One point that transpired was that older children often absolve themselves of responsibility and blame their maids for things, for example, if they do not bring their belongings. One class teacher explained:

I try to think how I can get them away from this. I tell them – my school child did not put my chair back for me. They get the message. Most of them do not use the maid's name or driver's name – they say the maid, the driver. I try to get them out of this by pointing out that they have a name.

However, concerns existed that regardless of the school's actions, things would not change:

I am not sure that much rubbed off even in the five years with most of them because in a way I was fighting a losing battle; they had to do nothing at home

...the only issues are that obviously they go home and fall back in the same mode.

One parent would certainly like to see recommendations and a system to help:

...parents need a better support system.

- **School Organization**

Various suggestions involved the way in which schools are organized. As many international schools are fee-paying, profit making establishments some changes could be impractical due to financial implications.

An increase in Teacher Assistants (TAs) in class was suggested; in my professional judgement, the downside to this could be the potential for further learned helplessness if there is increased adult support and intervention. An increase would need to be managed appropriately.

Similarly, teachers mentioned smaller classes. The reason behind the smaller classes would be imperative; would the adult do more for the child or spend more time fostering independence skills?

A buddy system of older children modelling independent behaviour was another teacher response. Findings do not suggest a significant difference in the independence of older children who have maids. Therefore, if this was to be implemented, careful choices would have to be made to ensure the 'buddy' was independent themselves. This could be problematic as I had difficulty finding children without maids in both schools. Interestingly, when my FS2 class paired with a Year 6 class recently, the teacher commented that he believed that children show greater signs of adult dependency as they progress through school.

Teachers agreed that rules in school should encourage independence and be adopted by all teachers; expectations should increase as the child progresses through school. Progress of children struggling with independence should be tracked and there should be consistency throughout the school. Acquisition of or lack of independence skills should be clearly stated in school reports. New teachers should be made aware of any issues to do with maid dependency in the orientation programme for new staff. One teacher said:

...new staff need to be made aware of some of the backgrounds that these kids come from and some of the problems they may have.

Field trips to help people less fortunate than themselves were thought to be helpful:

These students who go along on trips for worthy causes do have a sort of 'awakening'... one team who went to Kenya to visit an orphanage was so humbled by the experience that they did come back and 'turned over a new leaf'.

- **Classroom Organization**

Several teachers suggested that responsibility roles such as water monitor, line leader etc... were vital to counteract maid dependence. One teacher uses checklists so that children know what is expected of them. Peer pressure was mentioned; maid children do not like their peers watching them receive lots of adult help. However, this is not going to be so effective in schools where the majority of children depend on maids. Consistency amongst staff is vital – the TA has to follow through what the teacher is trying to achieve:

...a child will quickly find the adult who will do things for them.

High teacher expectation accompanied by sanctions or praise was also important:

...first table to be ready with a tidy table stood behind their chair will be first in line for lunch.

One critical idea was that teachers need to consider time and support:

Time must be given to children to carry out tasks independently – some children will need support emotionally and physically if over-reliance on help is embedded.

Giving children open ended tasks on a regular basis was considered vital for them to develop their own ideas.

- **Change of Home Rules**

Several interviewees in various groups interviewed regarded parents as being in a position to establish, change and reinforce the rules at home. Participants' views signified that mothers could influence the degree of dependency, by working with the school and maid.

Having presented and discussed the findings, I now attempt to relate them to the features of Engeström's AT model.

5.4 Using Activity Theory (AT) as a Model for Analysis

In this thesis, I have investigated *a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context* (Yin 2003, p.14), in the form of human activity *in specific social setting* (Parks 2000), i.e. the home and the school. This has enabled me to consider the whole activity setting not just the individual, as noted by Murphy and Rodriguez-Manzanares (2008). Data collection techniques described by these authors (ibid.) included techniques that I used in this thesis. Each measuring instrument was appropriate for answering at least one specific question as shown in *Appendix E*.

An AT model is a framework or descriptive tool (Nardi 1996) *that provides a unified account of Vygotsky's proposals on the nature and development of human behaviour* (Murphy and Rodriguez-Manzanares 2008). Engeström's framework was used to make sense of everyday practice in the home and the school. Thus, I have examined what is happening in my context and transferred this into themes. Drawing on these emergent themes, models of activity of the home and school were formed. Engeström (2001, p.37), emphasizes that the contradictions between the two activity systems are *historically accumulating structural tensions within and between activity systems* which generate *disturbances and conflict* (ibid.) and I have attempted to make this evident in my models based on AT which I now present.

Figure 5.G Activity System 1: The Home

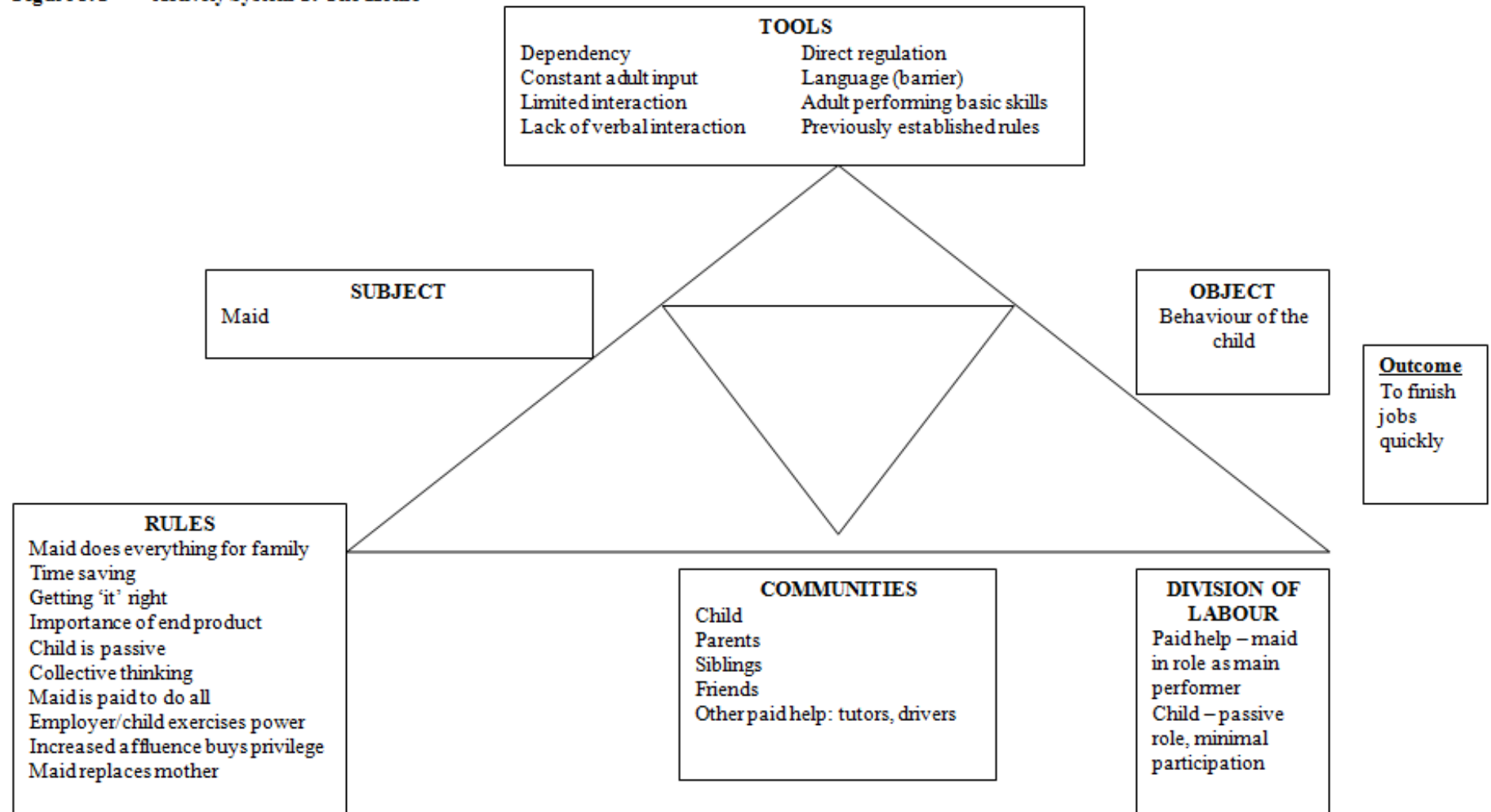
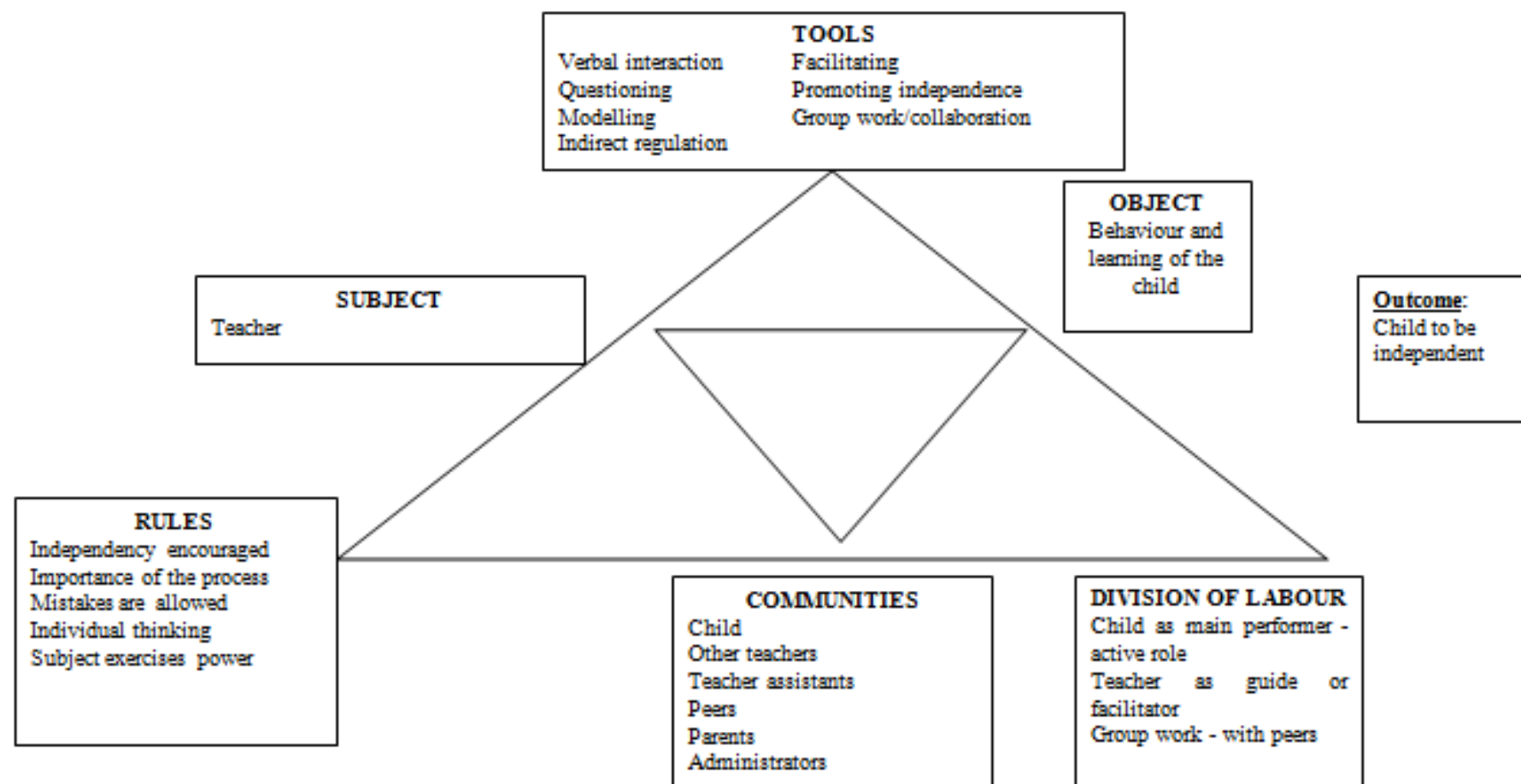


Figure 5.H Activity System 2: The School



At this stage, it is essential to stress that *every investigation involves some kind of compromise* (Denscombe 2002, p.126); this study was no different. A number of important constraints, limitations and unexpected factors may have hindered the process and caused bias to the results. For reasons of transparency they are detailed below.

5.5 Limitations of the study

Firstly, I wish to emphasize that as a result of the paucity of data with regard to education in an international context and the subject of dependency upon maids, I have included data gathered from related national studies and articles from the media as part of the literature review. Generally, the media in the Middle East is an important *mode of informal education* according to Biggs (1995, p.9), a far cry from the tabloids of the Western world; it is quite factual and by and large includes government statements which often befit smaller countries as Biggs (*ibid.*) verifies.

I have organized limitations into categories:

5.5.1 Conservative Nature of the Area

With regard to the data collection, the conservative ethos of the Arabian Gulf gives rise to restrictions on the way that data can feasibly be collected. Roumani (2005) for example, in her study on maids in Arabia, found that she had to interview maids via their employers. Certainly, the very private nature of the culture rendered the use of video camera/tape recorder to revisit evidence inappropriate. These restraints have possibly affected the reliability of the study. Recently, a Fulbright researcher working *on routine academic research* (Ali 2007), collecting interviews for a book on white-collar expatriate workers in the Gulf (*ibid.*) was arrested because of his research activity; thus, the need to be particularly sensitive when collecting data in this geographical area.

5.5.2 Constraints on Resources and Access

Gaining access to sites was difficult. I initially intended to access three types of schools in a Gulf country, each with contrasting nationalities of children and teachers. Despite contacting a significant number of schools, Ministries, Ministers and key people in education in the Arabian Gulf, and meeting with a key representative from a Gulf Education Ministry who promised to enable school access, this did not materialize. Promises from other channels constantly pursued never came to fruition. This issue was time consuming and on occasions worrying as I felt that the project would never begin. My plans were modified: I used two schools where I had contacts.

This made access costly. Two visits to S2 involved flights and hotel stays. Translating, photocopying and couriering parent/teacher letters to S2 also proved to be expensive. Realistically, not everybody would be in the position to tackle these costs; airmiles proved to be an invaluable resource!

5.5.3 Linguistic Constraints

This study involved people of various nationalities, thus linguistic constraints exist. Linguistic issues amongst maids may have caused bias in the results of the adult/child task. In contrast, all teachers involved in the task spoke English as a first language.

Many parents who received research details spoke English as a second language, although letters in S2 were translated into Arabic, the native tongue of most S2 parents. A number of parents attending the interviews spoke English as a second language; this may have caused bias as regards understanding the content and affected their willingness and confidence to contribute.

Questions asked after the adult/child task may not have been easy for the maids to understand; similarly, children in S2 were not as proficient in English as some in S1.

5.5.4 Bias and Quality of Data

Quality of data could have been affected by linguistic issues mentioned above. Additionally, parent interviewees could have been those who were interested in their child's education, thus, attracting a certain group of people.

As regards the adult/child task, teachers are trained and experienced in teaching, maids are not, thus, they would not have had any previous knowledge about formal teaching strategies. On the other hand, this may have been the type of task in which maids would engage when involved with childcare. The two groups could have interpreted the tasks differently due to cultural interpretations, *culturally organized ways of the task influence performance* (Cole 1996, pp.45-46).

Researcher as participant may have caused bias to interview, task and classroom observation data.

Interviewees were encouraged to be open and freely respond. This cannot detract from the fact when a white, Western person sets the agenda some cultures and groups may have been nervous about truthfully providing the whole picture, although, maids seemed to be quite vocal in informal chats. In general, I took for granted that all participants answered with a degree of honesty.

A lack of participant choice of date and time may have caused bias. Some working parents may have had difficulty attending, and this could have affected the results; these parents may have needed the maids more than those who do not work and used them for different purposes.

There may have been a difference in the way that teachers interpreted the statements in the independent checklists. However, as one teacher completed the checklist for the class group, to all effects children were judged against their class peers, although it would have affected the overall result. Similarly, teachers may have had biased ideas of the children they graded on the checklists.

Due to the financial cost of the visit, there were time constraints in S2. I met with parents and completed interviewing in 1 day. For reasons beyond my control despite attempts to organize my second visit schedule from my base, I had to organize it on arrival.

5.5.5 Flaws in Sampling

In S2, it was disappointing that only two local parents attended the interview plus two parents responded to the interview format via e-mail, when most parents are Gulf Nationals; most interviewees were Western and some employed by/related to

those employed by the school. Gulf Nationals in S2 tend to be more conservative and may have regarded interviews as impinging upon their privacy.

Organization is somewhat difficult when access is not constant. Things seemed to go much smoother in S1; with easy and constant access to the site I could ensure that everything was well organized. Subject to a degree of external interference, S2 parent sample did not always appear to be random, there was difficulty in locating places to hold the task and regular contact with teachers involved was not always possible. Basic tasks such as letter distribution/collection were not within my control and may have had an impact on the sample.

Finding children –*Maid* for the observation was problematic, particularly in S2. In S1, there was a small pool from which to randomly select. In S2, I was able to find three children out of 400 with no maid at home, which resulted in a smaller sample for S2.

Returned permission slips for children to work on the task with a maid was limited in both schools, thus affecting the amount of arbitrariness of choice.

5.5.6 Limits of the Theory Used

Participants may react to the fact that they are being observed which can lead to distortion (Denscombe 2002, p.19). *Observations and explanations of social world* may not be objective (ibid. p.20). Furthermore, there is a certain ‘relativism’ attached to this paradigm; another researcher may interpret things differently (ibid. p.21); reality may only be true in this situation and is representative of one world view. Research can be open ended (ibid. p.22.) instead of providing closed answers, and lacking rigour (ibid). Regardless, it does address the topic and goes some way towards tackling the questions, factors deemed to be a *guiding principle* for research (Denscombe ibid. p.23). As Denscombe (ibid.) suggests:

The guiding principle for research is not how well it sticks to its ‘positive’ or ‘interpretivist’ epistemology, but how well it addresses the topic it is investigating.

5.5.7 Limits of Analysis

As I was the one who constructed the reality, the analysis is subject to observer contamination (Wellington 2000, p.16). However, according to Wellington (ibid. pp.16-18) even quantitative data is value laden as it is interpreted by humans.

Regardless of limitations, some significant findings clearly emerged as is evident in the analysis. A summary of the main findings are presented in the next section.

5.6 Main Findings

The main findings that transpired from my small-scale inquiry are as follows:

In my context:

- Affluence and the availability of cheap labour from developing countries enable parents to hire maids and other domestic staff.
- A lack of extended family, no support system, peer pressure, 'seductive' lifestyle, illiteracy of parents are contributing factors which have resulted in an arguably increasing culture of hired help.
- Maids' subject position in the family contributes to their actions. They hail from very poor, developing countries, work for economic reasons and are ready to hold on to their jobs at any cost. This situation appears to be reflected in their behaviour and everyday practice.
- In conjunction with domestic duties, maids are employed for 'childcare', a term with a broad meaning, ranging from supporting parents to the role of main carer.
- Maids frequently carry out typical maternal duties.
- As maids have adopted a pattern of interaction which includes doing everything for children and parents, they appear to have a tendency to function as the main performer with the child playing a passive role.
- A lack of verbal interaction in the maid-child partnership can be evident.
- Maids tend to believe their role is to 'do everything' for children. Factors that contribute to this include:
 - Parents expecting them to do everything for adults
 - Patterns in their previous job
 - Expectations of parents - they overload the maid thus maids want to complete things quickly and correctly
- A clear message emerges regarding the difference in the activity of the home and the school as a result of the maid: the behaviour and learning style usually encouraged and promoted by the school views the child as an independent and active individual. In contrast, the influence of the maid in the home can result in dependent and passive behaviour and learning. These different cultural groups have different ideas about teaching and learning – they are culturally embedded.
- Maids could be regarded as interrupting children's access to essential tools for learning.
- The way in which tasks are shared and roles are divided is contradictory in both situations. Evidence suggests: adult as main performer at home versus adult as more capable other who guides in school.

- Additionally:-

- Language issues exist
- The maid situation could interfere with attitudes that the school is trying to promote, such as risk taking
- Children often set rules and exercise power over the maid; this is contrary to the school situation

- Despite parents believing that hiring maids affords them more time with their families, there was a significant difference in performance between children –*Maids* and those +*Maids*.

- There appears to be a pattern of adult/maid dependency or syndrome amongst children who have maids

- Perceived consequences amongst children who have maids that have emerged from this study include:

- Child dependency upon adults in order to function
- Lack of independence, self-help and regulatory skills
- Lack of independent cognitive skills such as making choices and asking questions
- A deficit in risk taking skills
- Difficulties operating in the classroom due to poor skills which promote independent learning
- Low motivation
- A ‘maid child’ adopts a passive learning style
- Behaviour that has been learnt appears to mirror helplessness
- Potential language issues: possibly through lack of verbal interaction and maids’ limited language in child’s native tongue
- A style of operating which can be carried into adulthood

In sum, this may result in problems developing skills listed in Chapter 3. However, key stakeholders believe that there are ways of alleviating the situation. These include:

-School as an agent of change

- Information sessions, training and workshops for parents and maids
- Parent support system
- Explicitly stating skills necessary for school
- Life skills programme for children
- Guidance for parents during induction/parent information packs

- Rule changes in school

- Refuse homework done by maids
- Homework clubs
- No maids in school
- Change children’s behaviour and attitude towards maid dependency

- School Organization

- Orientation/induction days – explicit skills mentioned
- Increase TAs
- Smaller classes
- Buddy system
- School rules which encourage responsibility
- School reports that reflect the acquisition or lack of independence skills
- Practical resources which encourage independence skills e.g. water pipes in toilets for washing
- Consistency throughout the school regarding high expectations for independence skills
- An awareness of the issue included in orientation programmes for new staff
- Increasingly challenging expectations
- Staff follow through with parents any problems which appear as a result of maid dependence
- Track the progress of children who are struggling as a result of maid dependence

- Classroom organization

- Specific responsibility roles e.g. line leader, water monitor
- Checklists for older children
- Use of peer pressure
- High expectations of independence in class and consistency amongst staff
- Use of sanctions and praise
- Time to support independence skills
- Emotional support for children who are developing independence skills
- Open ended tasks

- Change in the rules at home

- Parents are in a position to set rules and work with the maids and the school to enforce them

Summary

To summarize: I have attempted to address each question by presenting the results of the research inquiry, followed by analysis and discussion. Significant limitations were listed before providing the main findings.

In the final chapter, I will undertake to use these key findings, examining the implications of research and making recommendations based on the outcome of this inquiry.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Introduction

The remaining chapter begins with a summary of the results. I then examine the implications of the research, making recommendations based on the findings. I seek to clarify the importance of the study and contribution of the work, subsequently reflecting on prior assumptions and decisions made before finally providing ideas for future research.

6.1 Summary of the Main Points of the Findings

The inquiry centred on the notion that the trend of hiring maids, who because of their social position often do many basic tasks for children in their care, had entered the world of some international schools in particular geographical areas. Professionals have expressed concern that such dependence could interfere with skills which foster social and educational development, by preventing or interrupting access to tools required for the learning process. Therefore, the aim of this thesis was to explore the perceived social and educational implications of home/school differences in pedagogic orientation in children who have maids at selected sites in the Middle East.

Two diverse schools in the Arabian Gulf were used to access key-stakeholders: one with an intake of multinational children follows the spirit of the English National Curriculum; the other, an IB World School catering predominantly for Gulf national students, offers three IB programmes. They may differ in their intake of clientele and organization, but both institutions regard themselves as schools operating within an international context as defined by Hill (2006) and adopting typical international school curricula as classified by Thompson (1998).

As a theoretical framework from which to design the inquiry and carry out the analysis, I drew on Vygotsky's sociocultural theory and Engeström's activity theory, thus assuming that learning and development are mediated processes. The first theory focuses on mediated learning involving cultural tools such as speech, while the latter views context as a cultural mediator of learning and development. Qualitative methods underpinned the study. My inquiry involved a multi-method approach to explore and illuminate; this included interviews, classroom observations plus teacher checklists for the observed children and observation of a task using *maid/child* and *teacher/child* dyads.

6.1.1 Main Findings

Clearly, if the findings were substantiated by a larger study the implications would be even more significant and reliable. Regardless, from this small-scale study, messages emerged in several areas indicating potential consequences for learning amongst 'maid children' which could be perceived as a result of an over reliance upon their maids. Other points which materialized are also of interest in their own right and illustrate the 'bigger picture' of my context. In summary – in my context:

- A considerable number of children have maids at home.

- Increased affluence, a constant supply of low paid workers, and the right of employers to set their own rules, are contributing factors which encourage parents to hire maids for domestic duties and childcare.
- Childcare is a broad term which frequently results in maids adopting a maternal role.
- Maids come from developing countries; their primary goal is gaining financial capital. Consequently, they are willing to do anything to hold on to their jobs, thus, sociocultural and historical factors are at play and evident in maids' everyday activity.
- In the child/maid relationship, maids frequently act as the main performer often carrying out basic tasks for the children in their care.
- The maids' pedagogy could be a consequence of their primary goal being reflected in their everyday activity.
- A significant difference was discovered between children +*Maids* and children –*Maids*, particularly with regard to certain areas such as motivation, interaction patterns, independent functioning and acquisition of developmentally appropriate skills.
- Some children +*Maids* tend to adopt a passive role and a pattern of over reliance or complete dependency upon adults.
- The various perceived consequences which emerged amongst children who have maids, could arguably be detrimental to learning and achieving appropriate developmental stages in school, by possibly hampering skills such as those listed in Chapter 3.
- As regards pedagogical orientation, in the light of the evidence, a significant difference in the activity of the school and the home as a result of maids appears to exist.
- Interestingly, the number of maids per family did not distinctly emerge as making a major difference as regards dependency.
- A pattern of 'dependency upon other adults' might be carried into adulthood.
- Key stakeholders suggest that the situation can be alleviated by adopting certain actions placed in the following categories:
 - School as an agent of change
 - Rule changes in schools
 - Organizational processes of the school
 - Classroom organization
 - Changes in the rules of the home

These main points have implications for the learning and development of children, an aspect I now discuss.

6.2 Implications Based on Findings

The most significant implication that arises from this work is the possibility of maid reliance preventing or interrupting access to tools required for the learning process, thus presenting perceived consequences for social and educational development. Reflecting upon Cole's analogy of the garden (1996, p.143), it is concerning as to what happens to 'maid children' when they are placed in a different environment: in essence, they appear to lack the necessary skills to function appropriately.

Considering Vygotskian ideals, the child's relationship with the environment is mediated by tools, but in my context the tools fostered by the activity of the home may differ greatly from those encouraged in school, therefore, may not be conducive to school learning. The results imply that the inter/intra may not always occur with 'maid children'; the way in which opportunity for learning is distributed affects the inter/intra and as such could impede normal development and progress. Debatably, the ZPD in its various forms as highlighted previously (Vygotsky, Bruner, Lave and Wenger, Tharp and Gallimore) may not always transpire. When the maid as the more capable other performs the task herself, thus, taking complete control, the consequences appear as total dependency on the part of the child. The scientific and everyday learning could be at loggerheads due to the difference in the institutions of the home and school.

As regards AT, the actual activity with its rules, community and shared labour can often act as a catalyst for learning. In this context where there is maid influence, the division of labour and the rules embedded in the daily activity are, in all probability, not beneficial to the child's development in school. Similarly, basic goals may be achieved in both the activity of the home and school but the motive and methods are quite different and appear to be contradictory. The motive at home is heavily influenced by the need to get things done quickly and correctly, whereas in school, independent functioning and the process of learning, including making mistakes, is generally seen as a natural precursor to social and educational development.

Furthermore, in my context, there could be repercussions linked to the approach to teaching called international education (Matthews 1989; Hayden and Thompson 1995). The way in which individuals from certain regions are seen to clean up, perform menial jobs and allow children in their care to be totally dependent upon them could be contradictory to the ideals of international education. International institutions which offer the IBO programmes evidently expect international students to acquire certain dispositions and attitudes (IB 2009c). Similarly, UNESCO's view of international education refers to critical thinkers and life-long learners, respectful of other cultures and attitudes (Hill 2000). Likewise, Poore (2005) shares concern for maid reliance reinforcing stereotypes of people from developing countries. Arguably, one of the connotations that the maid situation could have is the way in which certain diverse groups are perceived by children. I have certainly witnessed behaviour from young children, which suggested a disrespectful regard and negative opinion of people from developing countries such as India, Sri Lanka and the Philippines - countries which are instrumental in providing maids.

6.3 Recommendations

This thesis lends some support to the notion that use of maids is culturally embedded amongst the groups in my study, therefore, improving the situation for children who are reliant upon maids, may be challenging. Nevertheless, as a result of the findings and drawing on my 16 years of experience as a teacher in the region, I believe that recommendations for practice could be useful in two different arenas:

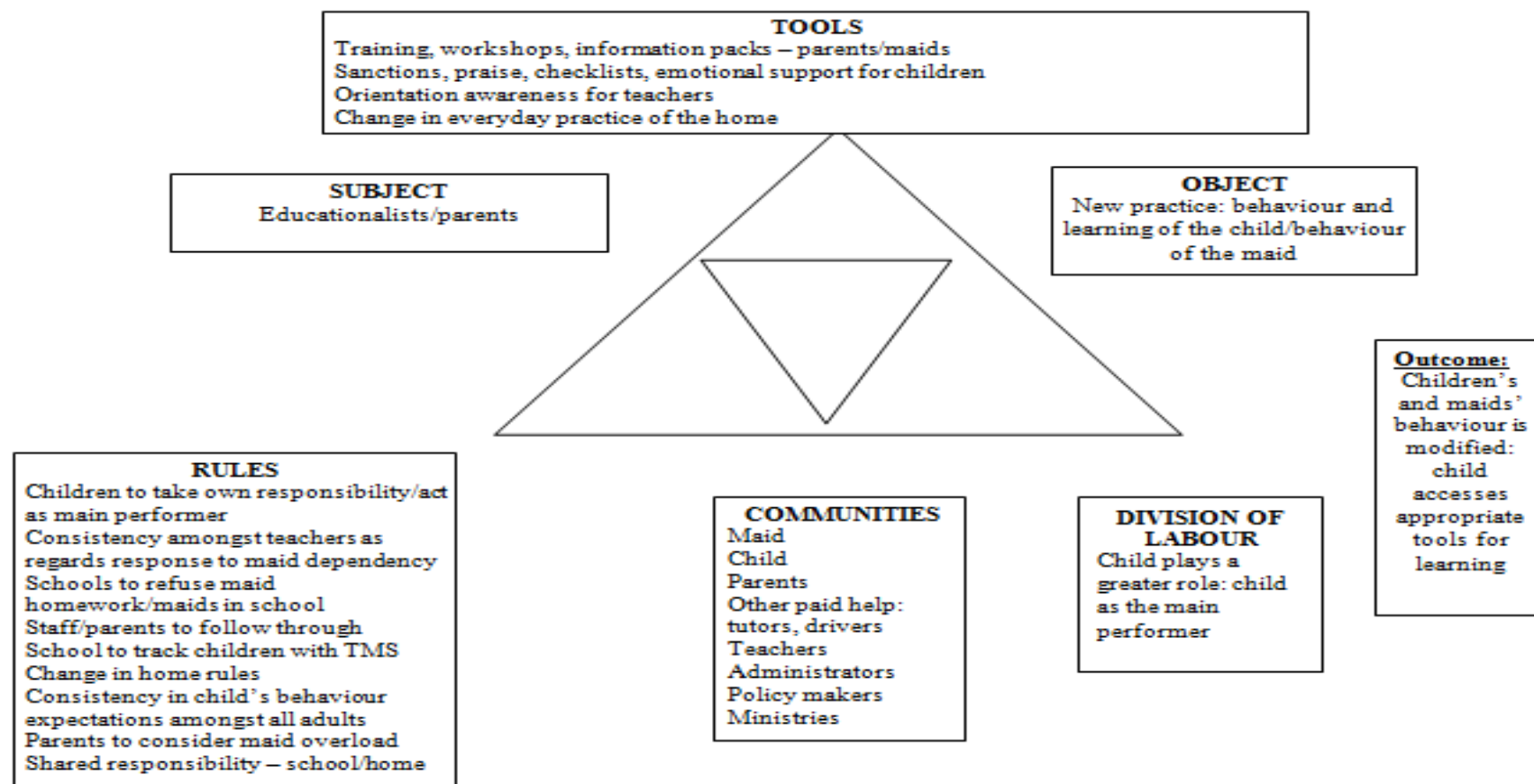
- Formal education (teachers, administrators, ministries, policy makers)
- The home (parents, maids, children, society at large)

Recommendations which have implications for policy and practice, and which may be regarded as impinging upon cultural values, should be realistic and culturally sensitive. A code of practice or guidelines could help to improve the situation, by attempting to close the gap between both institutions.

6.3.1 New Activity System: using the views of key stakeholders to alleviate the situation.

As regards alleviating problematic consequences of maid dependency, messages emerged in several areas from responses provided by some key stakeholders: parents, local BEd students and international educationalists, through interview and via e-mail. Their ideas underpinned a model to guide new practice, which might alleviate potential consequences of maid dependence. Based on Engeström's model of AT, it is documented in *Figure 6.A*, overleaf.

Figure 6.A New activity System: using the views of most key stakeholders to alleviate the consequences of TMS



6.3.2 Recommendations Based on the Findings

This inquiry suggests that for a variety of reasons, hired help is considered a necessity which will undoubtedly continue. Similarly, maids, together with their embedded practices appear culturally entrenched. Although educators do not have the right to condemn this, schools could recognize that the maid is part of the funds of knowledge that children bring into school. Educators who operate with children's best interests in mind should work with the main carer, and acknowledge that for many children, this could be a maid.

In the light of this research, if educationalists involved in planning, policy making or teaching, want the best for children, it would be reasonable to suggest that they consider and address the issues which emerged from the findings.

6.3.3 Messages for Those Involved in Formal Education: teachers, administrators, ministries, policy makers

- Parents require a support system from the school which would ideally include information sessions and workshops for parent and maid groups.
- Schools could reinforce this information through explicitly notifying parents about the skills required for children to function appropriately in school (in handbooks and orientation material).
- Schools should insist that maids do not stay in school with their charges and refuse homework completed by maids.
- Schools should not employ maids. Certain small, private schools in the Arabian Gulf, some state schools educating Gulf nationals and many private nurseries which cater for multi-national children⁴⁹ sometimes adopt this practice.
- Schools could consider how rules which encourage independence can be adopted, for example, checklists for children, consequently enabling them to establish a routine which encourages independent behaviour.
- Challenges should increase as children progress through school.
- Organizational changes: smaller classes or extra TAs, though only if changes encourage independence.
- Tracking and monitoring signs of dependency and including them in school reports. Related issues should be followed through with parents. Sanctions and praise encouraging independent behaviour could be used.
- Availability of practical resources: water pipes for hygiene purposes, checklists as prompts for independent functioning, for instance.
- Children who need to break the pattern of over reliance require time and emotional

⁴⁹I have witnessed this in my role as a link person between my current school and neighbouring nurseries.

support.

- High expectations of independence skills should be consistent amongst all staff.
- New teachers need to be made aware of *maid children's* dependent behaviour as opposed to a 'laziness' trait; many will not have experienced this phenomenon before, particularly if they have come from certain national systems.
- Use of specific class responsibility roles: line monitor, register person, water pourer.
- Learning by doing, open-ended tasks and an inquiry driven programme could help to develop independence skills.
- Helpers' Day: an annual day dedicated to acknowledging helpers. Helpers (maids/drivers) are invited to school and served drinks/food by children.
- Classroom techniques that reflect thinking skills should be embedded in everyday practice. Teachers can turn instructions into questions, for example.
- Explore a whole school policy to work with dependency issues and fit the context of the particular school.

The above messages for educationalists could be futile if some sort of appreciation and understanding of the issues does not occur in the home, for the embedded everyday practices appear to be at the heart of the matter. Therefore, for change to occur in school and for appropriate progress to be achieved, parents too, need to be proactive, thus, the formation of messages for the home:

6.3.4 Messages for Those Involved in the Home Situation: parents, maids, society at large

- Maids' everyday practices should be examined and maid 'overload' should be acknowledged and avoided.
- Expectations of maids should be realistic. Such action might require a new way of thinking by society at large, a potentially difficult goal to achieve.
- Parents as responsible and independent role models who actively show respect for maids.
- Appropriate training for maids.
- Parents should insist on rules which discourage child dependence upon maids.
- Parents need to work with maids to ensure that the rules are enforced.

6.4 The Importance of the Work and Contribution of the Study: theoretical and in practice

The intent is not to claim that this research has provided an ultimate solution to the

issue explored. If it is assessed using this criterion, *it is unlikely to be judged as a success* (Wellington 2000, p.13). However, I have attempted to ensure that the work is *systematic, credible, verifiable, justifiable, useful, valuable and 'trustworthy'* (Lincoln and Guba 1985, in Wellington 2000, p.14). It also highlights a matter of importance, particularly to similar international schools, in more academic terms. It could introduce the potential effects of TMP to a wider audience, exploring various aspects, such as reasons and justification for hired help. This, in turn, may provide educationalists with a greater awareness and understanding, thus enabling them to deal more effectively with any consequences. The study could present parents with suggestions that they may wish to consider in the future when employing hired help, and aid government policy makers in the region with ideas for setting guidelines and providing advice.

The new activity system generated by this study could go some way towards alleviating the impact on children's learning and development.

This study appears to be the first of its kind in many respects, including the application of post-Vygotskian theory for a situation where the importance of the position of the maid has been analysed. However, I wish to emphasize that I regard its purpose as merely providing an initial exploration into this subject.

The research could make a contribution in various other ways. Apart from studies relating to child-care centres, there is a noticeable paucity of material relating to the effects of hired help on children's development worldwide. It is hoped, therefore, that it will contribute to this area, highlighting possible effects of maid dependency upon social and educational development.

Research pertinent to education in the Arabian Gulf is also quite contemporary and a recent development which Biggs (1995, p.6) attributes to the drifting Bedouin existence of the people of the area, with everything traditionally passed down by word of mouth (ibid.) as opposed to being recorded.⁵⁰ Therefore, this research offers information related to a current increasing trend relevant to this geographical area.

The field of international education and international schools is growing rapidly (Hayden 2006, p.ix), although, it is in itself a relatively newly researched area (Hayden 2006, p.7). Consequently, this study may be useful not only in the Middle East but in international schools which operate within similar contexts, adding to the present body of knowledge on the issues that prevail in this somewhat recent field.

6.5 Reflecting on the Project

The ability to be critical, reflective and reflexive is a significant part of qualitative research (Ball 1990, in Wellington 2000, Wellington ibid. pp.34, 42-44; Stephens 2009, p.9) which reinforces methodological rigour. Furthermore, researching an international setting provides *us with a sharpened sense of responsibility... to critically enter into dialogue with ourselves and the research process* (Stephens 2009, p.9), a statement which has particular relevance for the context of this study. Although thesis limitations prevent a detailed examination, I now attempt to briefly

⁵⁰ In addition, when under British rule, it was not considered within British interests to do anything about the low rate of literacy in the Gulf (Biggs 1995, p.7), thus hampering formal documentation of records or facts.

critique and reflect upon my research. Reflective comments are also included in Chapter 5.

In retrospect, as a result of my own enthusiasm, this project was very ambitious, and consequently yielded an abundance of raw data. The analysis stage, often challenging and time consuming added to my concerns about working within the word limit. Although no evidence was **consciously** filtered out, analyzing such an accumulation of data gave no total guarantee.

The data did go some way towards providing answers and shedding light on my subject, but in line with the paradigm used in this study, my tools are not neutral. They are historically and socially constructed, therefore, my views and prior knowledge will have led to various assumptions. Thus, a degree of subjectivity possibly affected my judgement. Aspects such as interpreting data and main findings, deciding on categories and themes and determining rules, tools and division of roles for the models of activity were based on my personal view. Unfortunately, there was a dearth of relevant literature to support and inform many of my decisions.

Assumptions have been made throughout the study. Firstly, the belief that underpins the research, 'learning is a sociocultural formation', engenders other assumptions such as the role of agency, tools and mediation and the view that changes in circumstances affect learning. The study also centred on specific metaphors and versions of pedagogy. Equally, an ontology and epistemology based on something other than critical realist and socio-genetic perspectives may not have dealt with the study in a similar manner; in reality, the issue may not have existed from other perspectives on learning. However, I have generally tried to support my position by using literature and research of eminent educationalists and researchers, together with experiences from my own practical knowledge of teaching and learning.

In some ways, my intention to examine the dynamic social surrounding was curtailed. I was unable to witness the home activity and the authenticity of the activity used, i.e. the task, is questionable. I have since reflected that this may not have been a familiar setting or activity for maids – a stark contrast to teachers' experiences. In this setting, it would have been surprising if they had operated like teachers. I wonder if I would have had similar findings had I observed a park visit, for example.

Upon reflection, I transferred thinking from maternal teaching studies to the maid situation, yet reviewed literature indicated that teaching styles are culturally embedded. Therefore, this may not have been appropriate.

Some areas of the study could benefit from change, although this may have been difficult for many reasons. They include:

- Flaws in the sample caused by a fixed date and time, an uncertain randomness of children +*Maids* and –*Maids* for observation and organizational issues in S2.
- Organization and place for interviews was not ideal in one of the sample schools.

- I should possibly have spent more time with maids who did not even check the transcripts.
- Potential possibility of ‘peer effect’ in parent group interviews.
- Linguistic and cultural bias to the study.
- The lack of video/tape recorder may have resulted in ‘missed’ evidence.
- Although the questions were the best that I could think of at the time to investigate the whole picture, they may have been framed in such a way that they assumed all maids, families, children, teachers and schools were the same. However, I believed that they were answerable within my limited resources and time constraints (Robson 2002).
- Some key-words may have had different meanings and connotations for both adult groups, for example, ‘How do you think you **taught** the child?’
- The interpretation of intersubjectivity that I held was school based, as highlighted and discussed by de Haan (2001).
- *Chi-square procedures rest upon a complex substructure which in turn imposes certain limitations* (Lowry 2010); chi-square is more valid when *the expected frequencies ... are fairly large* (ibid.); validity decreases when the expected frequencies are smaller, such as in my relatively small sample. Therefore, the small sample could make the use of chi-square questionable and statistical analysis of such a sample could render the findings of chi-square suspect.
- The list of maids’ jobs which I believed resembled typical maternal activities was arguably based on maternal activities from a Western perspective.
- Most suggestions for alleviating perceived consequences of children’s dependency upon maids were generally based on the opinions of Western individuals. These might not be the views of all cultural groups, a factor pertinent to this international setting, where parents may hail from systems that promote learning as acquisition, for instance. Not all key stakeholders were consulted, for example, maids and children.

Similarly, it is debatable if all cultural groups require intervention into the maid/child relationship. Some may perceive this as trying to change their culture. Not all parents may want their children to be independent; this is arguably a Western philosophy. Children often attend international schools, such as those in my study, to learn English and parents are not always interested in the philosophy of such institutions.

I cannot deem certain behaviour traits of children to be the result of maid influence, with certainty. Other variables could be present. Furthermore, not all maids are the same. Would I have got similar results had I been working with maids in Mexico who would probably have been from the same national culture as their charges, for instance? One teacher stated that in UK children had nannies, but were expected to be independent. Is this due to nationality, salary, similar culture, education, subject position or language? Would a highly educated, English speaking maid behave in the same manner? Also, I did not observe Arabic lessons, or include the Arabic teacher in the task; would I have had similar results? What if the study had compared maids and Asian teachers? Retrospectively, the project was, for the most part, based upon Western biased education in two schools which favour a child-centred approach.

This thesis does provide useful and illuminative insights, some of which were actually surprising: positive connotations to maid influence highlighted by parents – I had not expected this; the suggestion that maids brought rules from their previous jobs; realization that training is not the sole answer – maids’ activity is socially, historically and culturally embedded into daily practice. My past experience with clientele of both schools informs me of the difference in child/maid ratio, between these institutions, I therefore ponder as to why there is little difference between the findings. Despite concerns of maid influence over the past 20 years, I have never critically compared –*Maid* and +*Maid* children in my class. From their daily activity I was aware of differences, but I was surprised at such contrasting behaviour patterns when comparing both groups.

Certain findings do not always seem logical: why, for example, my research seems to indicate that motivation is affected by maid influence, when the IB Diploma Programme, *a demanding two-year curriculum that meets the needs of highly motivated students* (IB 2009a) is used in hundreds of international schools such as one of the schools in the study.⁵¹

This research project, from consulting literature to conducting the research, has enabled a tremendous personal learning curve; for instance, I have a far greater depth of knowledge, thinking and understanding as to how children learn. In many ways, it has reinforced my beliefs, but also facilitated new knowledge; culture and pedagogy for example, now have much broader meaning, similarly cultural tools are no longer beliefs and values but include schemas, routines and models. Such personal development is pertinent to my job as a leader and teacher in an international context. It not only informs my own practice, but will impact upon a wider audience through INSET sessions and staff meetings which I regularly facilitate.

Despite this self-criticism, the value of this thesis is not undermined. The paradigm used does not guarantee a definition of reality. The epistemological and ontological basis deems reality as being transient and affected by social and historical factors, and knowledge as fallible. The research may have posed more questions than answers in many ways, but I believe that to a large extent it has been illuminative and revealing.

As well as providing these insights, in many respects the findings of this study clearly prompted ideas for further research.

6.6 Ideas for Future Research

In suggesting proposals for further research, I am mindful that this topic is a sensitive one, especially within this geographical area. Access is certainly an overriding issue. Despite this, there are ways that I imagine this particular topic could be developed.

A larger study on the number of international school children who have maids could be insightful. I merely touched on this particular point and involved a small number of institutions.

While based upon a small-scale inquiry, if results from this present study were to be

⁵¹ 2,189 schools – this includes many in national systems such as USA, UK.

replicated on a larger scale, a greater degree of generalization and transferability of guidelines may be possible. A similar study involving schools in a variety of geographical areas, using a larger sample would thus be beneficial. Additional work on this topic is necessary to enable further depth and insight and create a greater body of knowledge.

Comparisons could be studied: Are the implications the same for boys who have maids, as they are for girls? Does the family nationality make a difference?

As regards the affective domain – do children who have maids have particular difficulty acquiring attitudes and dispositions encouraged by the IB programme, for example? The IB Diploma course is for highly motivated students – how does this work with children who are dependent upon maids and may not be motivated?

It would be interesting to discover how children who return to their home countries manage without input from hired help, and examine the issues involved. This might not be a simple study: children from international schools return to a variety of countries potentially making access to these former expatriates difficult to manage.

If possible, a study of maid/child dyads with maids from different educational backgrounds and nationalities could be useful. It may inform guidelines on the aspect of employing ‘good quality’ hired help.

A more in depth study of the maids themselves, with particular reference as to how they think the situation could improve, could perhaps cast greater light on the situation.

From a personal point of view, I would be interested to discover if the maids’ behaviour towards their own children changes when they return home.

Finally, the lack of significant difference in findings between sample school groups, regardless of the likelihood that one group of children have a higher ratio of maids per family, is an interesting factor and emphasizes the need for further study in this area.

Summary

After summarizing the key findings, examining research implications, and making recommendations, I reviewed the importance of the study and the contribution that I believed the work could make in various areas. Consideration of my assumptions, decisions and personal learning was followed by further ideas for research that could be conducted in the future.

Upon reflection, the fact that I may not have involved the maids as much as I wished is foremost in my mind. Practicalities made constant access to maids challenging and many would have been wary about being interviewed. The actual research topic is a delicate one; although contact with third world workers for research purposes is currently a popular notion in the Arabian Gulf, it is often scorned for various reasons, in some areas. As previously mentioned, the cultural, social and political nature of the geographical area is indeed sensitive. However, within the network of FDW that exists internationally, many more answers might remain undisclosed and this

population could be a rich source of information.

Parents who hire maids may have 'good' intentions, but as the maid demonstrates an obligation and willingness to take on more responsibility, it is likely that her workload and role increases. The maids' behaviour presents itself in this way as she is desperate to keep her job. Thus, although parents may be unaware, the situation is one where certain societies create a maid culture and in turn the maid culture is creating a culture of child and adult dependency.

I have merely broached an issue which has particular significance in wealthy regions such as the Arabian Gulf, as the growth in employment of maids seems to be particularly prevalent amongst such communities. Without doubt, further study is necessary. However, the evidence in this study provides a greater awareness and realization of the implications of perceived consequences resulting from over reliance upon maids. It highlights the notion that the inclusion of maids in the home could make any gap between school and home significantly greater. I would hope that it acts as a catalyst to prompt openness and discussion, which in turn might impact upon policies, policy makers, parents and those interested and involved in education in this particular international field and geographical area and encourage further research of this issue.

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Appendix A

Timeline for the Study

<i>September 2006</i>	<i>October 2006</i>	<i>November 2006</i>	<i>December 2006</i>	<i>January 2007</i>	<i>February 2007</i>	<i>March 2007</i>
1 st draft proposal for the university; thought about possible questions and access; brainstorm of questions and ideas	Contacted 2 researchers; contacted many others for access in two countries in Arabian Gulf; documented points for informal chats	Permission for S1 to do research; Contacted S2 for permission; proposal before board of gov. S2; contacted number of schools in UAE for access; informal chats with maids; re-draft proposal → tutor; met with H.Roumani – researcher (Maids in Arabia); inform teachers S1 of project letter to parents about research – S1	Proposal accepted by B of G S2; contacted Min of Ed in a Gulf country; survey teachers S1 about children with maids in previous schools; contacted college as regards interviewing BEd sts; letter FS2 parents – informal chat; informal chat - maids	Informal chats – FS2 children S1; BEd sts - received permission from Dean of Col.	Informal chat with FS2 children S1; informal interview with local BEd sts; letter to teachers; informal chat with parent; informal chat with maids; draft letter for S2 parents; typed up; proposal to university	Informal interviews teachers, maids, administrator S1; parent letter S2 for approval with Director; thank you e-mails/letters to those involved so far; letters parents Yr 5 children; informal chat with Yr 5 children S1 typed up
<i>April 2007</i>	<i>May 2007</i>	<i>June 2007</i>	<i>July 2007</i>	<i>August 2007</i>	<i>September 2007</i>	<i>October 2007</i>
Ministry visit; writing up informal chats	Writing up findings; contact Ministry again; parent letter translated for S2; letter to S2 parents – research project	Modify sub-questions; writing up		Contact new Director of S2; contact S2 parents who replied → interviews	Formal letter to Head in S1 re: main research; plan research schedule for S1; contact S2 parents; arrange time for parent meeting S2; e-mail people in int schools – re: maid children in class; parent letters – observation S1; inform teachers S1 observation	Form observation plan/ records; plan semi-structured interview parents; pilot observation form S1; write up interviews/observation

Appendix A continued

<i>November 2007</i>	<i>December 2007</i>	<i>January 2008</i>	<i>February 2008</i>	<i>March 2008</i>	<i>April 2008</i>	<i>May 2008</i>
Observation pilot; observation cycle S1; draft records etc... for semi structured interview S2; prepare pack to take to S2 – info for parents and teachers; write up observation; checklists for teachers for children observed – S1; teachers check obs; interview parents S1; contact parents, Director, Head in S2 to finalize date for meeting	Checklists S1; observation cycle S1 finalized; visit to S2 for interview with parents; fix date for further research; type up checklists/observ/parent interview S1/S2; thank you letters and e-mails; teachers check typed checklists; transcriptions given to parents to check	Contact S2 finalize dates for research; plan task for both schools; list plans for S2 in April; draft letter to parents – S1/S2 task; send letter to parents S1 – task; pilot task in S1 and write up; make changes	Start task cycle S1; draft letter parents S2 – observation; contact S2 – plans; write up task findings - S1; all S2 letters to parents into Arabic	Letters sent to S2 – task/observation; continue task S1; contact S2 – plans; write up task S1; attempt schedule for S2	Finalize S2 plans; data collection S2 – observation, checklists, task; Informal chat with teachers S2 – what has helped? ; write up – transcripts for teachers to check	Thank you letters/e-mails Write up tasks/observation/ checklists/ teacher interview; organize data into boxes

<i>June 2008</i>	<i>July 2008</i>	<i>August 2008</i>	<i>September 2008</i>	<i>October 2008</i>	<i>November 2008</i>	<i>December 2008</i>
Check all write ups; look at data; formation of graphs/charts; survey by e-mail – teachers from other int schools – what has helped?	Start to reduce data – interviews/tasks/ observation; chart for background data	Check and reduce data	Reduce data	Reduce data; Form charts/data representation	Methodology/ Methods Chp	Methodology/ Methods Chp Spk to some maids about why they treat own children differently

<i>January 2009</i>	<i>February 2009</i>	<i>March 2009</i>	<i>April 2009</i>	<i>May 2009</i>	<i>June 2009</i>	<i>July 2009</i>
Results chapter	Results chapter	Analyze data	Analyze data. Start Analysis chapter	Analyze data. Analysis chapter	Conclusion/recommendation/future research	

Appendix B

Sample of Schedules

Schedule for Classroom Observation of Children +Maids and Children –Maids: (School 1)

Observation

Wednesday 14th November 2007

*Pilot form in G2D 10:15am

Get feedback from teacher for the independent checklist

G1

G1 observation 8:05am Thursday 15th November 2007

G1 25th November 2007 - filled checklist

G1 6th December 2007 - feedback session

G1 10th December 2007 - teacher checks typed info and typed checklist

G2

G2 observation 8:00am Thursday 6th December 2007

G2 6th December 2007 - filled checklist

G2 9th December 2007 - feedback session

G2 12th December 2007 - teacher checks typed info and typed checklist

Observation of 4th child 16th December (child was absent on 6th Dec)

Feedback 17th December

Notes checked 17th December

Z1

Z1 observation 12:15pm Tuesday 20th November 2007

Z1 25th November 2007 - filled checklist

Z1 6th December 2007 - feedback session

Z1 10th December 2007 - teacher checks typed info and typed checklist

Z2

Z2 observation 10:15am Sunday 18th November 2007

Z2 22nd November 2007 – filled checklist

Z2 22nd November 2007 – feedback session

Z2 28th November 2007 – teacher checks typed info and typed list

Appendix C

Information and Permission Letters:

Sample Letter

Information for Head of School 1

Mrs X
Headteacher
School 1
Country 1

September 16th 2007

Dear X.

As you are aware, I am currently undertaking doctoral studies with the University of Bath, UK. I am at the stage of the research inquiry for my thesis, and have an interest in examining adult-child interaction in different activity settings, and the implications for learning, particularly in the international context.

My small scale study would include various forms of data collection. It is a small scale study, therefore, it would not involve large numbers of participants. My final aim is to examine the implications of home/school differences in pedagogic orientation in children who have maids, at selected sites in the Middle East.

I would be working within the guidelines for ethics and confidentiality of the University of Bath. The names of any participating school and individual participants would be treated with the utmost confidence, and would indeed be anonymous, for example, cited as School 1 in my thesis. No video tapes would be used and the method of data collection would be based upon observation and semi-structured interview. The study would involve a small number of participants in the KS1/Early Years section.

I feel that this is a very exciting study, and I hope that the outcome would highlight any issues or implications which as educationalists, we could consider in our everyday practice in order to further children's learning.

I would very much like to use School 1 as one of the sample schools and request your permission to do this. I would not collect any data without previously obtaining the permission and agreement of parents.

The next stage of the data collection would include:

- Talking to parents
- Observation of a small number of children with and without maids in W, X, Y, Z classes
- Observation of a small task involving 6 children, 3 maids and 3 teachers
- Talking to teachers

Thank you for your attention,

Yours sincerely,

Gail Bradley

Sample Letter:

Information for College

Ms Y
Department Chair - Education
Y College
PO Box Z
Country 1

cairogak@hotmail.com

December 19th 2006

Dear Ms Y,
My name is Gail Bradley, and I am teaching at X. I am currently undertaking doctoral studies with the University of Bath in the UK.

As part of my studies, I have already completed four papers which have been based upon issues in an international context – one of the fields of expertise for which the University of Bath has become well known.

I am now at the stage of a research inquiry for my thesis and have an interest in examining adult-child interaction in different activity settings, and the implications for learning. My small scale study will include speaking to administrators and teachers in various schools, speaking to a small number of nannies/maids and setting up of a short task between different pairs (child-teacher, child-maid). My final aim is to examine the implications of home/school differences in pedagogic orientation in children who have maids/nannies, at selected sites in the Middle East.

The names of any participating institutions and individual participants will be treated with the utmost confidence, and will indeed be anonymous, for example, cited as School 1 in my thesis. No video tapes will be used, and the method of data collection will be based upon observation and semi-structured interview.

I feel that this is a very exciting study, and I hope that the outcome would highlight any issues or implications which as educationalists, we could consider in our everyday practice in order to further children's learning and benefit not only schools in the Middle East, but international schools throughout the world.

As part of the study, I would be very interested to obtain feedback in an informal 'chat' with Arabian Gulf students – particularly those who are interested in education. I believe that this would not only be a very interesting 'lead in' to the study, but would also serve as an opportunity for those who have roots in this geographical area, to have a voice.

I was wondering if it would be possible for me to talk to any of the girls on the BEd programme and to get their opinion on this particular topic. I am, of course, more than willing to discuss this with you and will provide any further details that you may require.

Yours sincerely,

Gail Bradley

Sample Letter:

Information/Permission - Parents

September 27th 2007

Dear Parents,

My name is Gail Bradley and I am a Foundation Stage 2 class teacher and Foundation Coordinator at X School.

As some of you will be aware from a previous letter, I am currently undertaking doctoral studies with the University of Bath, UK.

I am now at the stage of the research inquiry for my thesis, and have an interest in examining adult-child interaction in different activity settings, and the implications for learning, particularly in the international context. I am looking at the differences in teaching and learning patterns between the home and the school.

As part of my research project, I would like to make a few general observations of children in X, Y, and Z classes over the coming weeks. I will not be making detailed personal records but looking more at children's learning patterns.

I am working within the guidelines for ethics and confidentiality of the University of Bath. The results of the observations will be completely confidential, no names of children will be recorded or documented, and I would be very happy to disclose the result of my finished study to any interested parties.

If you would rather that your child did not play any part in my informal observations, would you kindly inform me or the class teacher.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Yours sincerely,

Gail Bradley

Sample Letter:

Thank you Letter/Transcription Checking - Parents

December 9th 2007

Dear X

Firstly, I would like to say a big ‘thank you’ to you for participating in my group interview for my research project. I really do appreciate the time and effort that you gave to this project and I know that as a result of your input the quality of this research will be enhanced.

I really enjoyed meeting with the group and feel that it generated some rich and interesting data which I will now use for my project. As you know, I will respect your anonymity and no names will be recorded in the thesis.

I have one last request for you: I have typed the results of our data and would appreciate if you would kindly look over the transcription. If you feel that it is not a true reflection of our group meeting, or if you wish to add anything please feel free to write on the document/make changes and return it to me.

I will inform you all of the result and analysis of my research once it is fully completed.

Once again, many thanks for your help and support.

Yours sincerely,

Gail Bradley

Sample of Arabic Letter:

2008/03/09

حضرات أولياء الأمور الكرام:

السلام عليكم .

اسمي غيل برادلي ، و أنا أعمل مدرّسة لصف الروضة الثانية و أيضاً مشرفة لقسم رياض الأطفال في المدرسة الابتدائية في الكلية الانكليزية . وقد سبق لي و أن حظيت بفرصة للعمل في أكاديمية قطر لمدة خمس سنوات

ربما يعلم البعض منكم من خلال عدة رسائل قد أرسلت سابقا ، أنني أقوم حالياً بإعداد بحثي لنيل درجة الدكتوراه من جامعة باث في المملكة المتحدة.

أنا الآن في مرحلة البحث العملي من أجل إتمام رسالتي و التي أدرس فيها التفاعل بين الكبار و الأطفال في مختلف النشاطات و الإعدادات ، و تأثير هذا التفاعل على عملية التعلم و خاصة في المدارس العالمية. فدراستي تقوم على البحث في اختلاف أنماط التعليم و التعلم بين البيت و المدرسة. و كجزء من بحثي هذا سوف أقوم ببعض المراقبات العامة للأطفال في سن الثالثة و الرابعة و أيضاً للأطفال في الصف الأول يوم الاثنين الموافق 2008/03/14 .

لن أقوم بتسجيل أي من هذه الملاحظات و لكنني فقط سوف أتمعن أكثر في أنماط تعلم الأطفال. و أنا أعمل حسب المبادئ و الآداب و السلوكيات المتبعة في جامعة باث و التي تضمن السرية التامة، كما أن نتائج البحث لن تتضمن أي تسجيل أو ذكر لأي اسم من أسماء الأطفال. و سوف أكون بغاية السرور بإطلاع أي طرف مهتم بهذه الدراسة على النتائج النهائية لبحثي . في حال عدم رغبتكم بأن يكون طفلكم جزء من هذه المراقبة غير الرسمية ، فالرجاء إعلام السيدة كريستين هولاند أو مدرّسة طفلكم بعدم رغبتكم

شكراً لإهتمامكم

المخلصة

غيل برادلي

Sample of Arabic Letter:

2008/03/16

حضرات أولياء الأمور الكرام:

السلام عليكم .

أنا الآن في المرحلة النهائية من جمع البيانات اللازمة لمشروع بحثي مع جامعة باث في المملكة المتحدة. وكما يعلم الكثير من حضراتكم فأنا مهتمة بدراسة التفاعل بين الكبار و الأطفال في مختلف النشاطات و الإعدادات ، و تأثير هذا التفاعل على عملية التعلم و خاصة في المدارس العالمية. فأنا أبحث في اختلاف أنماط التعليم و التعلم بين البيت و المدرسة، وفي هذه المرحلة من بحثي فأنا أقوم الآن بدراسة أنماط التعليم المختلفة التي يستخدمها الكبار .

و على وجه الخصوص أريد مراقبة أنماط التعليم المستخدمة من قبل الخادمت و المربيات و المدرسين عندما يقومون بإنجاز بعض المهمات الصغيرة مع الأطفال .

فإذا كنتم مستعدين و ترغبون بأن يشارك طفلكم بإحدى هذه المهمات الصغيرة مع الخادمة أو المربية ، و اذا كانت الخادمة

أو المربية مستعدة أيضاً للمشاركة بهذا ، فالرجاء ملئ البيانات المرفقة أدناه .

و أيضاً إذا كنتم ترغبون بأن يشارك طفلكم بإحدى هذه المهمات الصغيرة مع مدرس الصف ، فالرجاء ملئ البيانات المرفقة

أدناه و إعادتها إلى المدرسة بتاريخ 2008 /03/27

كما أود تذكيركم مرة أخرى بأني أعمل حسب المبادئ و الآداب و السلوكيات المتبعة في جامعة باث و التي تضمن السرية التامة، كما أن نتائج البحث لن تتضمن أي تسجيل أو ذكر لأي اسم من أسماء الأطفال أو المدرسين أو الخادمت أو المربيات .

و سوف أكون بغاية السرور بإطلاع أي طرف مهتم بهذه الدراسة على النتائج النهائية لبحثي .

شكراً لتعاونكم و اهتمامكم

المخلصة

غيل براد لي

اسم الطفل : الصف

الرجاء وضع إشارة ضمن المربع المرغوب

- ☐ أرغب بأن يشارك طفلي مع خادمتي / مربيتي في هذه المهمة
☐ الخادمة / المربية ترغب أيضاً بالمشاركة في هذه المهمة
☐ أرغب بأن يشارك طفلي مع مدرسه بهذه المهمة

Appendix D

First Draft of Research Ideas and Questions:

Main Question:

What are the social and educational implications of home/school differences in pedagogic orientation in the case of children who have maids at selected sites in the Middle East?

What sort of knowledge or information would promote valid answers to this question?

1. Answers to following would be helpful:-

(Need to find out what happens at home)

What goes on at home?

What do maids do for children?

What 'teaching' strategies do the maids use?

What are the maids' expectations of children?

If a maid wanted to teach a child something – how would she go about it?

What kind of behaviour/attitudes to learning do children display at home?

For activity theory:

What tools are used at home?

What are the rules at home?

Who are the actors in the home community?

How is labour divided at home?

(Need to find out what happens at school)

What goes on in school?

What do teachers do for children?

What strategies do the teachers use?

What are the teachers' expectations of children?

When a teacher teaches how does she go about it?

What kind of behaviour/attitudes do children display at school?

For activity theory:

What tools are used in school?

What are the rules at school?

Who are the actors in the school community?

How is labour divided at school?

2. To discover what is happening initially:-

- at home → need to speak to:

children, maids, older students, parents, teachers, adults who
have/had maids
can also draw upon own experience
set up task with maids in school

- at school → need speak to :

teachers, children, older students
draw upon own experience
set up task with teachers in school

Appendix D continued

*Moving between school and home, the child is potentially shared.

What are the differences? → Think the above will give me many answers

What are the social and educational implications? → How will I find out?

Need to speak to teachers who have had experience of teaching children with maids. Do they notice any differences compared to children who do not have maids?

What about maids? Have they noticed any differences among the children they have worked with?

Can speak to older children/adults who have had maids and ask them about their learning strategies?

Possibility of task with dyads - will also help (reference to literature).

Observation of children in class

Initial Questions - brainstorm for research inquiry

1. Where did I first witness the widespread use of maids and the realisation that there were real issues involved?
2. What are the observations and views of others (teachers /administrators / parents) with regard to this?
3. Have others witnessed this in a national situation eg. UK/New Zealand?
4. How/why do the maids often take the part of the extended family in this international context?
5. What is the result of this?
- 6. Why does the presence of maids appear to be so widespread in families of children who attend 'international' schools?**
7. What does the whole picture look like?
- 8. What do these maids do?**
9. What do the children think the maids should do for them? Why?
10. What do the maids think that they should do for the children? Why?
11. What do parents expect the maids to do for children? Why?
12. Do the maids behave in the same manner with their own children?
13. Do all maids act in the same way?
- 14. What are the expectations of maids?**
15. Why do the maids act in the way that they do?
16. How is this translated into daily activity?
17. How is it translated into interaction with the children?
18. What are the key concerns about this?
19. What difficulties do the children encounter as a result?
20. What signs have I witnessed that would signify this?
21. What have other teachers witnessed?
- 22. What are the implications for children as a result of the influence of maids?**
23. What kind of interaction exists between maids and children?
24. How does maid interference affect the acquisition of skills such as risk taking (is this taken away from children)?
25. How do I know/how will I find out the effect upon learning or independence skills?
26. Are children disadvantaged by the reliance upon maids? If so, how?
- 27. What are the cognitive consequences because of the lack of interaction?**
28. What would be the differences between the way in which a child would learn from a teacher and a maid? (The way in which a teacher would teach and a maid would 'teach'?)
- 29. How does the school activity differ from that of the home as a result of the maid?**
30. How can 'international' schools deal with the situation?
31. How can we, as international teachers help?
32. How have teachers dealt successfully with this?
33. What processes have they put into place?
34. How can we 'close the gap' between the activity at home and that of the school?
- 35. How can international schools alleviate or cater for a situation where children display characteristics of over reliance upon maid**

Appendix E

Information Provided by Each Instrument

The way in which the sources of data collection provided answers and information for use in the model of Engeström's activity theory are documented below:

<i>Tools:</i>	<i>Questions answered by specific tools:</i>	<i>Information provided for the following areas:</i>
1. INTERVIEWS Background: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teachers Maids Parents Researcher Administrator Host country BEd sts Children: FS2 and Yr 5 Grp interviews: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> School 1 School 2 	*Why does the presence of maids appear to be so widespread in families of children who attend certain international schools? * What do these maids do? * Why do the maids act in the way that they do? * How does the school activity differ from the home activity? * What are the perceived social and cognitive consequences for children as a result of the influence of maids? * How can international schools alleviate or cater for a situation where children are perceived to display characteristics of over reliance upon maids?	(BACKGROUND) + RULES COMMUNITY DIVISION OF LABOUR OUTCOME TOOLS
2. OBSERVATION (+ teacher feedback on children observed) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> School 1: 8 children +M and 8 children -M School 2: 8 children +M and 3 children -M 	* What are the perceived social and cognitive consequences for children as a result of the influence of maids?	POTENTIAL OUTCOME RULES
3. CHECKLIST Completed by teachers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> School 1 School 2 	* What are the perceived social and cognitive consequences for children as a result of the influence of maids?	POTENTIAL OUTCOME
4. TASK 3 maid/child dyads and 3 teacher/child dyads) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> School 1 School 2 	* What do these maids do? * Why do the maids act in the way that they do? * How does the school activity differ from the home activity? *What are the perceived social and cognitive consequences for children as a result of the influence of maids	RULES DIVISION OF LABOUR
5. ADDITIONAL RESPONSES <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interview E-mail -Various teachers from international schools -Feedback from host country BEd students -Feedback from parents/teachers in School 1 and 2	* How can international schools alleviate or cater for a situation where children are perceived to display characteristics of over reliance upon maids?	POTENTIAL OUTCOME NEW TOOLS NEW ACTIVITY SYSTEM

Kinds of Information Provided by the Data

1. INTERVIEWS	
(i) Interviews with: Maids, teachers, children, BEd sts parents, administrator, and researcher	Used for 'lead in' and background
(ii) Semi structured interviews with Parents School 1 and 2	Common threads used for qualitative/quantitative data
2. OBSERVATION	
Observation Sheets	
↓	
Numerical grids	Quantitative data
Common themes	Qualitative data
Feedback from teachers	Qualitative data
3. CHECKLISTS	
Independent checklists completed by teachers	
↓	
Chi-square	Quantitative data
Tables	Quantitative data
4. TASK	
Record sheets	Strategies (teachers V maids) qualitative data
Answers to questions	Themes - qualitative data
Graph and scores	Qualitative and Quantitative data
5. ADDITIONAL RESPONSES	
(i) Interview	Chart of suggestions
(ii) E-mail	Chart of suggestions

Appendix F

Selected Sites for the Study

<i>Region</i>	Arabian Gulf - Country 1	Arabian Gulf – Country 2
<i>Name of School</i>	School 1 (S1)	School 2 (S2)
<i>Type of School</i>	Profit making Fee paying	Non-profit making Fee paying
<i>Curriculum</i>	Based on English National Curriculum	IBO World School: International Baccalaureate Primary Years Programme/Middle Years Programme/IB Diploma
<i>Age range of pupils</i>	3 years old – 18 years old	3 years old – 18 years old
<i>Number of students on roll</i>	Primary – 320; Senior - 650	Primary – 809; Senior – 517
<i>Nationality of students</i>	International – high number of Western children; 40 nationalities	Mostly host country nationals; 12 nationalities
<i>Religion of students</i>	Mixed – Christian majority; 20% Muslim	Mixed – Muslim majority
<i>Number of teachers</i>	70	134
<i>Nationality of Teachers</i>	Western majority – predominantly British. Some Canadian, South African, Arabic	Multinational – high number of Western teachers; 28 nationalities – including Arabic speakers
<i>External Tests/Examinations</i>	GCSE; ‘A’ Level No external testing at primary level	IB Diploma All levels: International Schools Assessment (ISA)
<i>Entrance test</i>	Yes – for children who have English as an additional language or who need learning support to access the curriculum	Yes - entrance by selection. Developmentally appropriate screening tools used at different levels
<i>Extra support provided</i>	Learning support – limited amount; only certain EAL issues addressed	English as an additional language Learning support
<i>Governing Body</i>	Owner-appointed governor makes decisions	The school is governed by an Executive Board of Directors
<i>Parent/Teacher Association</i>	Nothing formal; parental involvement encouraged	Yes – voted in annually

Appendix G

Details of Participant Sample

Classroom Observation: Participants School 1

16 children were observed in S1:

- 8 children +Maids
- 8 children -Maids
- 4 different age groups were observed

Date of observations: November – December 2007

Table 4:1 Children Observed: S1

Code	Age	Nationality	Gender	Maid Status
G1A	3.4	Gulf National	M	+M
G1B	3.3	English/S. European	M	+M
G1C	3.5	Irish/N. African	F	-M
G1D	3.2	English	F	-M
G2A	4.3	Russian	F	+M
G2B	4.4	Sri Lankan	M	+M
G2C	4.4	French	F	-M
G2D	5	English	M	-M
Z1A	6	South African	M	+M
Z1B	5.3	SE Asian/Arabic	F	+M
Z1C	6	Scottish	F	-M
Z1D	6	English	F	-M
Z2A	6.6	S. European	M	+M
Z2B	6.3	Indian	F	+M
Z2C	6.2	British	M	-M
Z2D	6.4	Iranian	M	-M
<p>Gender: M – Male F – Female</p> <p>Age: e.g. 3.6 = 3 years 6 months</p> <p>Maid status: +M = the child has a maid at home -M = the child does not have a maid at home</p>				

Classroom Observation: Participants School 2

As I was only able to locate 3 children who did not have maids at home, 11 children were observed in S2:

- 8 children +Maids
- 3 children -Maids
- 4 different age groups were observed

Date of observations: April 2008

Table 4:2 Children Observed: S2

Code	Age	Nationality	Gender	Maid Status
<i>Q1A</i>	3.6	Gulf National	M	+M
<i>Q1B</i>	3.9	Gulf National	F	+M
<i>Q2A</i>	5.3	Gulf National	M	+M
<i>Q2B</i>	5.7	Gulf National	F	+M
<i>Q2C</i>	5	Gulf National	F	-M
<i>Q2D</i>	5.7	English	M	-M
<i>L1A</i>	6.5	Gulf National	M	+M
<i>L1B</i>	5.10	Gulf National	M	+M
<i>L1C</i>	6.6	Iranian/English	F	-M
<i>L2A</i>	6.11	Gulf National	M	+M
<i>L2B</i>	7.3	Gulf National	F	+M

Age groups were the same as the ones observed in School 1 earlier in the academic year.

Gender: M – Male
 F – Female

Age: e.g. 3.6 = 3 years 6 months

Maid status: +M = the child has a maid at home
 -M = the child does not have a maid at home

*Coloured areas represent classes of children in both schools who were in the same age range.

Appendix G continued

Task: Child/Adult Dyad Participants School 1

Date of tasks: February – March 2007

6 children did the task in School 1					
3 child/teacher dyads			3 child/maid dyads		
Child Code	Age of Child	Nationality of Child	Adult Code	Nationality of Adult	Time taken for task
<i>Ch1</i>	4.4	New Zealander	<i>T1</i>	English	12 minutes
<i>Ch2</i>	4.10	Irish/Dutch	<i>T2</i>	English	13 minutes
<i>Ch3</i>	5.1	Canadian/Palestinian	<i>T3</i>	English	20 minutes
<i>Ch4</i>	5.1	English/Welsh	<i>M1</i>	Sri Lankan	8 minutes
<i>Ch5</i>	5.3	Spanish/English	<i>M2</i>	Filipina	8 minutes
<i>Ch6</i>	6	English	<i>M3</i>	Sri Lankan	2 minutes
Age: e.g. 3.8 = 3 years 8 months Adult: T = Teacher M = Maid					

Task: Child/Adult Dyad Participants School 2

Date of tasks: April 2008

6 children did the task in School 2					
3 child/teacher dyads			3 child/maid dyads		
Child Code	Age of Child	Nationality of Child	Adult Code	Nationality of Adult	Time taken for task
<i>Ch7</i>	3.8	English	<i>T4</i>	New Zealander	9 minutes
<i>Ch8</i>	5	Gulf National	<i>T5</i>	American	10 minutes
<i>Ch9</i>	5.9	Gulf National	<i>T6</i>	English	15 minutes
<i>Ch10</i>	5.6	Gulf National	<i>M4</i>	Indonesian	5 minutes
<i>Ch11</i>	5.6	Hungarian	<i>M5</i>	Filipina	5 minutes
<i>Ch12</i>	4.1	Gulf National	<i>M6</i>	Ethiopian	4 minutes
Age: e.g. 3.8 = 3 years 8 months Adult: T = Teacher M = Maid					

Appendix H

Questions for the Background Interviews

Participants	Kinds of Questions
Maids/carers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Questions related to their background and their lives • Questions related to their jobs – type of families, nationality of families, number of years, children in family etc... • Kinds of things they would do for the family and for the children • Would they do the same for their own children? • Was there a difference between the children they look after and their own children? • What do the children do if they want a drink for example?
Administrator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As an administrator in international schools have you witnessed any reliance upon maids? • Were there any obvious differences between the children in UK and overseas? • Do you have any specific concerns?
Researcher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why she did her research • How she went about collecting the data – any difficulties, for example • The kind of things that she is concerned about
BEd students)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who helped you with your learning/to be a good learner? • What got in the way of your learning? • Who helped you get from your worst learning to your best? (Using a line that they had drawn depicting periods of the worst learning and best learning) • Did you have personal experience of having a maid when you were young? • Did your maid give you any learning strategies? • What did your maid do for you? • Did your parents establish any rules when you had a maid? • What influenced them? • What did your parents want from having a maid? • What were the positive/negative aspects of having a maid? • As teachers would you expect your students to come to school with a maid? Why? • In schools, what differences do you see between those with and without maids? • Is there anything special that you think teachers could do when pupils have maids work with them? • Why do you think maids act in the way that they do?
Teachers <i>(Questions in italics for the teachers who</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Who helped you with your learning/to be a good learner?</i> • <i>Who helped you get from your worst learning to your best?</i>

<p><i>had maids when they were young)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>What kind of things did your maid do for you?</i> • <i>What strategies for learning did she give you?</i> • <i>Did your parents establish any rules when you had a maid?</i> • <i>What were the positive/negative aspects of having a maid?</i> • <i>What have you observed from the teaching situation?</i> • Do you see any difference in the children you teach here and the children you had in UK? • Have you noticed any reliance on hired help amongst the children you have taught? • What effects did you see? • Why do you think the problem is magnified in certain areas? • Do you have any children who have issues related to learning strategies that they use as a result of having a maid? What type of thing is happening? • Are there any differences between the children you taught in private schools in UK and in private international schools? • What can teachers do in a situation where children are over reliant on maids? • Have you noticed anything amongst children who have maids in international schools? • Is the reliance increasing or decreasing? • Have you had any experience of maids wanting to stay in school? • What concerns do you have? • What difficulties did you have when you taught Art in international schools? • What type of learning strategies do you think these children learn from maids? • What kind of things have you witnessed? • What strategies have you used that have worked?
<p>Children</p> <p><i>(Questions in italics for Yr 5 only)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who helps you? • How do they help you? • Would your friend/teacher help you in the same way as your maid? • Would your mother and maid help you in the same way? • Why does you maid do these things for you? • What would happen if she did not do them? • <i>Has you maid taught you anything? Have you learnt anything from her?</i> • <i>How do you think your maid may have made you less independent?</i>
<p>Parents</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do you have a maid? • What kind of things does the maid do for the children • Concerns she has about having a maid • Have you established any rules for the maid?

Appendix I

Sample of Responses from Background Interviews

Samples of Maid/Carer response: Background Interview:

R previously worked for a family from Pakistan as a maid. She was employed for domestic work but she did everything for them including waiting hand and foot on the two children - boys 5 and 6 years old. R had to carry them down from the bedroom every morning. She cleaned their teeth for them while they stood there and also washed them. *They did nothing.* Then she would feed them their breakfast with a spoon. Each night she would have to undress them, shower them and dress them in pyjamas. When they wanted something, for example a glass of water, they called for her even if she was downstairs and they were upstairs. She had to carry all of their bags when they finished school – *because I was the maid; this is what the maids they do.* Each meal time, she would take their food to them, feed them, while they watched television and then they would throw the dishes to the side and wait for her to collect them. I asked her if she did the same for her own children. *No – I never do this. Also my sister's children - they are not like this.* When I asked her why she did this for the children in her charge she said – *I cannot say no. I am the maid – the parents want me to do this. I do the same for the parents – they are all the same – I have to take and carry everything for the father. If I not do this – they shout at me. It was my job.* Quite often the family would try to give her their leftovers on the plate to eat.

Informal chat with J and R's carer who is male (D)

D is from Nepal. He was a farmer and first came to X country to work for a cleaning company. He learnt English at school but did not have a lot of English when he came here to work. His English developed when he went to work for an American family. He left college when he was 22 years old. He studied education but failed the last part. D is here for economic reasons. He has 2 children of his own 4 and 8 years old.

D used to work for an American family for 6 years – the father was the Principal of an American School. D was very happy with them but they left X. They still keep in touch by e-mail.

D looks after 2 boys – 6 year old and 10 year old. They are from South Africa. He has been with them for 6 months, and without prompting says that it is OK but he was far happier with the American family because he felt part of the family. With the SA family he is just a house boy.

I asked if there was a difference between his own children and the children he looks after: He shouted *Yes! Yes! My children do more. These children have more freedom. The 6 years old – I do everything with him – go to house with him when he go to play with friend, play outside with him, watching, watching all the time. He will run off, he do not know how to check for cars. He just run.*

The 10 years old he do everything. I arrange dress for him but he dress. The 6 years old – he does not know if the clothes is dirty or clean – he wear anything. He want to play in rain and then I change clothes. One day I change clothes 10 times – the mum she wants him clean.

D does everything for the boys – gets them up in the morning, drives them to school, cooks, cleans, washes, does the garden. Every day he checks the boys' bags, packs them and helps them with the homework. The American children were happy to stay at home and do their

Appendix I continued

homework, watch TV. The American parents helped the children. D has much more responsibility with the SA family.

The younger boy always asks him to turn the light on. D says that the family has had a lot of maids – they were always changing maids and the boys now expect him to do everything for them just like the maids. He says that his own children are different – his son was taking a bath by himself when he was 4. D has to do this for the 6 year old. His son would look after his own things and keep them safe. These boys cannot do this – either D or the mum does it. These boys never take their dishes to the kitchen – they always leave them around the house. They ask him when they want to eat, tell him to bring a drink. The older boy does get his own drinks sometimes. They often throw the school bags down on the floor or path for him to carry, or leave them in the car for him to bring inside.

D says that many employers in X are *not human*. He tells the story of meeting another Nepalese boy who was working for a family nearby. He went to speak to him and the boy said *Go, go – no talking!* He was not allowed to speak to anybody. D was going into the town and he asked if he wanted to go with him he said *No chance – cannot go from gate*. D said that Asian people are the worst to work for. He included Indians, Pakistanis and Arabs in this group. He said that many maids and house boys who work for Asians did not get days off at all. His friend has half a day off and he works until 11:00pm at night. Sometimes he has to wait up until 2:00 because his employer has his own business and he gets back late after entertaining clients.

D saw the letter to parents regarding the research in the child's bag and he said that he was interested to come to the meeting. His employer agreed.

Appendix I continued

Background Interviews - Grid of Responses of Participants



What did participants' responses suggest?

<div> <div>↙</div> <div>↓</div> </div>	<u>Maids/ carer</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Administrator</u>	<u>BEd students</u>	<u>Researcher</u>
Responses related to: <i>Maids</i>	-Work long hours for low salaries and often poor conditions -Wk for economic reasons -Prepared to hold on to jobs at any cost -Often act as main carer -Often protect the children -Perform basic skills for children -Regard themselves as having to do everything for their charges	-Perform basic skills -State long list of things that maids do: could be regarded as maternal responsibility -Maids do what we tell them to	-Can be focal point in family -Often act as main carer	-Work long hours for low salaries and often poor conditions -Wk for economic reasons -Prepared to hold on to jobs at any cost -Maids are afraid to put foot wrong -Can be focal point of family -Often act as main carer -Perform basic skills for children -Appear to be on the increase -Having a maid has become a culture amongst parents -Maids often want to stay in class with the children	-Perform basic skills for children -Maids would battle when asked to leave school -Did the children's homework -Maids would worry about the consequences of THEM getting the homework wrong -Maids often tried to do the children's assessment test for entrance to school -Maids give in to children easily	-Can be focal point in family -Regarded as causing social problems/religious issues: unanimous opinion -Perform basic skills for children: unanimous opinion – <i>they spoon feed them</i> -Maids do the homework for children -Concerns about maids' pronunciation of English words -Examples of the things maids do for children suggested that they	-Perform basic skills for children – give them food/drinks without the children asking -Maids speak pigeon English/Arabic to the children -Concerns about maids' lack of mother tongue

<p>↓ ←</p> <p>Responses related to:</p> <p><i>Maids</i></p>	<p><u>Maids/Carer</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Maids often try to teach the children -Treat own children differently to those in their charge 			<p><u>Teachers</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Maids love the children and find it hard to say no to them -Maids often come into schools to feed etc... particularly in government schools -They immediately carry children's bags when they collect them from school and often carry the children -Maids travel overseas with children to look after them on holidays -Maid gave me no learning strategies at all as a child: she did not allow me to do anything 		<p><u>BEd students</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> were acting in a maternal role -Maids do children's tasks in order to finish quickly 	
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↙ ↓	<u>Maids/ carer</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Administrator</u>	<u>BEEd students</u>	<u>Researcher</u>
Responses related to: <i>Children</i>	-Often hit abuse maids -Maids regard children as being dependent upon them -Maids' own children show greater independence skills than children in their charge -Children throw bags etc ... for maids/carers to carry	-Children tell maids what to do -Children tell maids to do things that they feel they cannot do, including basic things, that they might do themselves in school	-Often hit the maids/treat them badly -My children have changed since we came to live overseas and had a maid -Children throw everything on the floor since having a maid	-Often hit the maids/treat them badly -Often dictate orders to maids -Children with maids appear to lack self help skills, responsibility -Depend completely on maids for basic skills -Often little verbal interaction between maids and children -Can be language barrier between maids and children -Can become very attached to maids -Children from certain cultural groups appear more dependent upon maids: this shows in their behaviour in school -Children do not listen to / have little respect for maids -Child is dominant one in the relationship -They have a learnt behaviour: helplessness	-Children with maids appear to lack self help skills -Dictate orders to maids -Depend on maids for basic skills -Children with maids do not show any sense of responsibility -Children have an emotional attachment to maids -When they see the maids, children often throw bags and lunch boxes at them so that they will carry them	-Children with maids appear to lack self help skills -Depend on maids for basic skills -Can become very attached to maids -Children are able to learn the language of the maid – this was regarded as a positive factor -Children see their peers with maids and they want one: to carry bags etc...	-Children with maids appear to lack self help skills -Depend on maids for basic skills -Can be language barrier between maids and children -Appear to be emotionally and socially destroyed -Many children who have maids are elective mutes - no need to speak

<p style="text-align: center;">↓ ←</p> <p>Responses related to:</p> <p><i>Children with maids</i></p>				<p><u>Teachers</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -I had a maid as a child and it was easier for her to do things than watch me doing them -Concern about independence skills and language being affected by maids -In class, children who depend on maids are easily identified -Children throw bags etc... at maids for them to carry -Children with maids appear disorientated when they have to do things for themselves -They often get distressed when they have paint etc... on them: can't clean it off -They often blame maids when things go wrong/ they have forgotten things -Children in UK state sector are far more independent -No risk taking 			
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 	<u>Maids/ carer</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Administrator</u>	<u>BEd students</u>	<u>Researcher</u>
Responses related to: <i>Parents</i>	-Varying degrees in the way they treat maids -Parents are in position to enforce rules -Parents often expect maids to do everything for the children	-Parents will reprimand maids if they do not do necessary things -Children's answers signified that parents can set rules	-Parents can set rules for maids and children -Some parents call maid to do everything -Education of the mother plays part in rules setting -I am often the only mother in the play area: others are maids -Parents do not treat maids with respect and children follow - Parents appear to give childcare responsibility to the maids	-Parents often under pressure to get maids when they see how things are 'done' overseas -Parents are seduced by a life style -Ex-pat parents often want a luxury life style -Mothers seem to have absolved their responsibility to the maid -Mothers often appear to have become marginalized particularly in cultural groups where they were the focal point of the family -Lack of education and greater affluence magnifies the problem, particularly	-Some parents give sole responsibility to the maids for child care -Some parents do not take school seriously -Parents in the UK seem to be more concerned about independence skills - Some parents use maids more for cleaning and housework	-Illiteracy amongst some parents has encouraged them to have maids so that maids can do the homework with the children -Some parents have maids if they work -Some parents use maids to clean and cook, to free parents up to spend time with children -Mothers have varying responses to the attachment that the child has for the maid	-Parents only seem interested in the academic side -Parents let maids do everything for children



<p>↓ ←</p> <p>Responses related to:</p> <p><i>Parents</i></p>				<p><u>Teachers</u></p> <p>affluence in international schools</p> <p>-Children's dependence on maids comes down to the mother</p> <p>-Mothers can influence the degree of dependency</p> <p>-Parents can establish rules</p>			
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<p>↓ ←</p> <p>Responses related to:</p> <p><i>Teachers</i></p>	<u>Maids/ carer</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Administrator</u>	<u>BEd students</u>	<u>Researcher</u>
		-Maids and teachers would not help you in the same way. The maid would do things for you whereas the teacher would do some and you would do some		-In government schools the teacher is the maid: under pressure to do what management or parents want -Teachers have to facilitate everything: (children show little ability to bring in things from home)		-Teachers should ensure that maids do not stay in the class room -Should refuse homework done by maids -Teachers should help children do homework in homework clubs	

<p>↓ ←</p> <p>Responses related to:</p> <p><i>Teachers</i></p>				<p><u>Teachers</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teachers often fight a losing battle because of the home situation -Teachers and schools need to educate parents/maids 			
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<p>↓ ←</p> <p>Responses related to:</p> <p><i>Administrator</i></p>	<u>Maids/ carer</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Administrator</u>	<u>BEd students</u>	<u>Researcher</u>
					<p>-I had to stop maids bringing children to school to do the entrance assessment: they were doing it for them</p>	<p>-Schools should not let maids stay in school</p> <p>-Schools should not accept homework done by maids</p> <p>-Schools could set up homework clubs so that the homework is done in school and teachers help rather than the maid doing the work</p>	

 	<u>Maids/ carer</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Administrator</u>	<u>BEEd students</u>	<u>Researcher</u>
Responses related to: <i>BEEd host country students</i>							-Most of the ones she spoke to in interview were brought up by maids and they feel it is now part of their culture

 	<u>Maids/ carer</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Administrator</u>	<u>BEEd students</u>	<u>Researcher</u>
Responses related to: <i>Researcher</i>							-She had to get second hand info for her questionnaires – parents did them with the maids -She had difficulty getting data

Appendix J

Questions asked in the Group Interview – S1

<u>Questions asked:</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WARM UP: Quick show of hands: – How many of you have maids now? If not why not? How many of you had maids for the first time when you came to X country? • What were your reasons for hiring a maid? • What type of thing does your maid do in the home? • What type of thing does your maid do for your children? • What type of rules/guidelines did you give your maid when she started? • What influenced you? • What are the positive aspects of having a maid? • What about the negative? • What qualities do you look for when you hire a maid? • Did you have a maid in your home country? Why? Why not? • Would you have one on your return? Why? Why not? • Would you like to add anything else?
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Questions asked in the Group Interview – S2

<u>Questions asked:</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WARM UP: Quick show of hands: – How many of you have maids now? If not why not • What were your reasons for hiring a maid? • What type of thing does your maid do in the home? • What type of thing does your maid do with/ for your children? • What type of rules/guidelines did you give your maid when she started? • What are the positive aspects of having a maid? • What about the negative? • What qualities do you look for when you hire a maid? • Would you like to add anything else?
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Appendix K

Observation Records

Pilot Observation Record: +M, -M (School 1)

Date:

Time:

Length of observation:

Class:

Teacher:

child needs and receives adult help (✓) does things without adult help (x)
gives up trying (!)

Child 1 +M:

Age:

Activity/lesson:

Child 1 +M:

Age:

Activity/lesson:

Child 1 -M:

Age:

Activity/lesson:

Child 2 -M:

Age:

Activity/lesson:

Appendix K continued

Recording Sheet for Classroom Observation

Observation Record Child +M (School 1)

Date: _____ **Length of observation:** _____
Class: _____ **Time:** _____ **Teacher:** _____
 child requests/receives help (✓) child does things without help (x)
 child gives up trying (!)

Child: (+M) **Age:** years
Nationality: **Activity/lesson:**

Child: (+M) **Age:** _____ years
Nationality: **Activity/Lesson:** _____

Appendix L

Checklist of Independent Learning Development (CHILD) 3-5

Name of child:

Teacher:

Date:

	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never
EMOTIONAL				
Can speak about own and others behaviour & consequences				
Tackles new tasks confidently				
Can control attention and resist distraction				
Monitors progress and seeks help appropriately				
Persists in the face of difficulties				
PRO-SOCIAL				
Negotiates when and how to carry out tasks				
Can resolve social problems with peers				
Shares and takes turns independently				
Engages in independent cooperative activities with peers				
Is aware of the feelings of others and helps and comforts				

COGNITIVE				
Is aware of own Capabilities				
Can speak about how they have done something or what they have learnt				
Can speak about planned activities				
Can make reasoned choices and decisions				
Asks questions and suggests answers				
Uses previously taught strategies				
Adopts previously heard language for own purposes				
MOTIVATION				
Finds own resources without adult help				
Develops own ways of carrying out tasks				
Initiates activities				
Plans own tasks, targets & goals				
Enjoys solving problems				

Appendix M

Task Record - PILOT

Maid

Teacher ✓

Code: Child: Pilot Adult: Pilot

Age of child: 6 years Nationality: Greek/Filipino

Nationality of adult: English

Date: February 13th 2008

Length of time for task: 10 mins

Step	Subtask 1	Subtask 2	Subtask 3
1	CI	CIR	CI
2	CI	CI	CI
3	CI	CI	CI
4	CI	CI	CI
5	CI	CI	CI
6	CI	CI	CI
7	CI	CI	CI
8	CI	CI	CI
9	CIR	CI	CI
10	CI	CI	CI
11	CI	CI	CI
12	CI	CI	CI
13	CI	CI	CIR
14	CI	CIR	CI
15	CI	CI	CI
16	CI	CIR	CI

Appendix M continued

The pilot teacher talked about the animals as the child was doing the task. She asked her about the colours of animals and how many she had and used it as a learning experience. Teacher said that had she been doing this as activity in class, she would have put all of the animals in a bag and made it more inquiry based.

Child said that the teacher wanted her to copy the model she had. She said that the teacher did not give her any help and she was able to do it on her own. This particular child is very bright. I also think the task is better suited to a younger age group.

I forgot to take the key with me, so had to improvise! Lesson learnt! Also, I think that it would be better to have the child standing rather than sitting so that child can really see model (will use 1 chair). I am going to have to watch very closely as no video.

Technical changes to form – ensure code will fit in middle of boxes, remove dots and bold such things as age, nationality etc to make it easier on the eye.

I also decided that it was best to do the task with children 3-6 years old – i.e. children in FS1, FS2 and Year 1 rather than include Year 2 as it seemed too simplistic for Year 2 children.

Appendix N

Responses to semi-structured interview – using post-its on sheets and the notes taken during the group discussions

Data Reduction: Parent Interview
School 1

STEP 1

How many of you currently have maids? – Show of hands 8

If not – why?

1 - still looking; 1 - waiting for her 'old' maid to come; 1 - stated she had made a conscious decision not to have one after she saw the repercussions when she lived in Hong Kong: *the maid did everything for the 4 girls and she had too much involvement. She used to try to dress them and they would sit there and let her do this.*

How many of you had a maid for the first time when you came overseas? – Show of hands

All had maids for the first time overseas.

<p>What were your reasons for hiring a maid?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affordability - low salaries, maids from developing countries • Peer acceptance - peer pressure, social etiquette, peer expectation, unwritten rules • Domestic work - washing, ironing, cleaning, cooking • Organizational/Practical - no community spirit, geographical make-up – street set up, security, house sitting • Child care - help acquire language, babysitting, collect from school, look after children, childcare because of work commitments, reasons change with children's age • Nature of country - heat, transient life, dusty house • Provide jobs for maid – often expected in the country you live in, inherited her • No extended family • Alleviate pressure - give parents extra time to spend with family, makes life easier
<p>What type of thing does the maid do in the house?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food related tasks - cooking, prepare, lunches for school, • Domestic work - ironing, washing, gardening, looks after pets and house • Back-up – no extended family, support system • Childcare - helps in morning, dresses children, does homework with them, reading with younger ones, plays with

	<p>children, entertains baby, baby-sits while I take other children out</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language based duties - interpreter, language teacher, • Tasks increase with trust • Provides more quality time with children • General support – no extended family, support system, reminds me to do things
<p>What type of thing does your maid do for your children?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plays with them - games, toys, puzzles, trampoline, in the park • Engages with them – keeps them happy, keeps them happy until bedtime • Food related tasks - cooks breakfast, school lunch, dinner, makes sure they have packed lunch they like • Housework – washes and irons their clothes • Teaches them – new language, reads bedtime stories, drawing painting, listens to them read, helps them with homework, dressing skills • Performs daily routines – does hair, gets children ready in the morning, feeds baby, helps them with bus out of car, watches TV with them, provides clean uniform, interacts with them, bathes them • Looks after them – when I am out etc...
<p>What kind of rule/guidelines did you give the maid when she started?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect rules - treat children with respect, expect respect from them, respect family • Maid rules - personal hygiene, no lies, no tittle-tattle, not to go in the pool, no boyfriends, no use of telephone, no smacking or shouting, no rudeness to daughter or pets, no other housemaids in house, honesty at all times, no boyfriends to interact with children, knock before entering, speak English, time keeping, housework rules • Practical rules – times, schedule, bed times of children, no sweets or treats for children no TV in my absence, job description, guidelines on child care, take breaks • Safety rules - medicine rules, no opening the door to strangers, kitchen safety • Dependency rules - no picking up after children, promote independence, no bathing four year old

<p>What influenced you when you made these rules?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Past experience • Influences changed over time - wanting maid to integrate with family, knowing maid's potential • Retaining control/standards • Need for trust • Happiness (for everyone) • Other expatriates • Children – safety, routine, peace of mind, I don't want bratty kids • Rules to benefit maids
<p><u>Part II</u></p> <p>What are the positive aspects of having a maid?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relieves pressure – calming influence • General support system • Support with children - mind children, helps with learning languages/other cultures • Practicalities – housework, let in workers, security • Provide quality time for me
<p>What are the negatives of having a maid?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instilling different rules – she changes them, instils religious beliefs, favours certain children, gives different guidelines, sides with children, gives in to children's demands • Privacy – invasion of privacy, tidying up after dinner when asked not to, • Dependency - children become dependent on her, children become lazy, she picks up after them • She is too familiar and opinionated
<p>What qualities do you look for when you hire a maid?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal – honesty, integrity, cleanliness, cheery, smiley, reliability, smart, able, shows initiative, approachability, able to improve, good quality work, good references, maturity • Experience • Educated and literate • Likes children – good rapport with them, • First aid knowledge • Speaks English

Did you have a maid in your home country?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No participant had a maid in their own country
Why not?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No peer pressure • Family network present • Too expensive • Peers would not approve • Staff in UK make rules
Would you have one on your return?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No – not good role model, I have support network, different climate • Yes – if affordable, my values have changed; give me 'me' time, more quality time with children

Participants shared some concerns:

- We are taking the maid away from her own family
- Maids affect children's independence skills
- As an expatriate your perception about having a maid changes within weeks

*The note taking and the flipcharts enabled people to elaborate on the responses – see below:

The fact that extended families do not usually exist in the expatriate community means that families are very dependent upon hired help. Such issues as size of houses, lack of contact with neighbours forces many families to hire maids. The group felt that there is no 'heart' in Country X. Lack of community spirit, no connections, street set up – big houses/apartment life with no link up as in a terraced house/semi-detached situation are all things that make life difficult. People also live a very transient life and this contributes to a dependence on hired help – little chance to make relationships with people you trust or long lasting relationships. There is little chance to meet neighbours due to closed doors/walled gardens. Any 'network' that people had contact with had unwritten rules that you would get a maid.

Being in close proximity to developing countries and affordability resulting from low salaries meant that the hired help could provide back-up for families who otherwise had nobody to depend upon.

The group were very adamant that most of them do not call the maids 'maids' but such things as nanny, nona, aya, aunty, helper, housekeeper. Maids were also seen as being part of the family by a number of people.

Another issue that they elaborated on was the fact that the children have to leave the house so early – sometimes 6:30am due to early start and bad traffic. Schools are not always close to homes and rarely within walking distance as would often be the case in many national countries. Heat also prevented this. Mothers could not just put the baby into the push chair and take older children to school.

Appendix N continued

The traffic in X was another pressing issue – one parent said the kids get frazzled in the heat if they sit for hours in the car; by having a maid they can leave children at home. Parents saw the hiring of a maid as alleviating the pressure on them due to lack of neighbourly contact and no extended family nearby.

Some parents said maids do dress children but believed that it could affect their independence skills. One parent said that she felt that she had compromised her children when she had a full-time maid – she did not notice little things that happened e.g. how the maid dressed children all the time. There were genuine concerns about the children losing independence skills.

Some participants felt that visa difficulties and expensive salaries would prevent them from having maids in home countries.

School 2

STEP 1

Responses to semi-structured interview – using post-its on sheets and the notes taken doing the group discussions

How many of you currently have maids? – Show of hands

5 – all of the participants

<p>What were your reasons for hiring a maid?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affordability - low salaries, inexpensive, • Domestic work - washing, ironing, cleaning, cooking • Organizational/Practical - no community spirit, significant other, husband is away a lot, house sitting • Child care - babysitting, collect from school, look after children, childcare because of work commitments, keep daughter safe, observe children • Nature of country – bigger houses, no free market for casual jobs • No extended family – no support network, • Alleviate pressure - give parents extra time to spend with family
<p>What type of thing does the maid do in the house?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food related - cooking, prepare, lunches for school, • Domestic work - ironing, washing, manages house, maintenance, • General support – no extended family, support system, reminds me to do things, • Childcare - keeps me updated about school issues, collects daughter from school, baby-sits, observe children
<p>What type of thing does your maid do for your children?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plays with them – reads to them, goes to playground with them, • Food related tasks – cooks, prepares their meals and brings to them, brings them from school, • Housework • Performs daily routines – helps them to dress, organizes their room, collects the from the bus, takes tem to school, helps with bed time activities • Loves them • Looks after them – playground, baby-sit

<p>What kind of rule/guidelines did you give the maid when she started?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect rules – maid's behaviour towards family, children's behaviour, time keeping, no visitors, cleanliness • Maid rules – time keeping, guidelines for child care, no smacking, no shouting, personal hygiene, keep house clean, responsibility, job description, no boyfriends/visitors • Practical rules – behaviour management rules, food rules, child independence rules, cleaning rules • Safety rules – medicine rules, child not to be alone with men • Speak English
<p>What are the positive aspects of having a maid?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relieves pressure – calming influence, provides quality time, I can relax • General support system – housework, house runs smoothly, I can develop career • Support with children - mind children, helps with learning languages/other cultures, • Practicalities – housework, let in workers, support when needed
<p>What are the negatives of having a maid?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dependency - she picks up after them, does too much for them, making children lazy and not confident • Rules/Concern about when I am not there – what they are doing after hours, worry about safety issues, does she treat children with respect, do I spend enough time with children, not doing work properly, food issues • Passive roles for family – as a result of maid husband and children take passive role
<p>What qualities do you look for when you hire a maid?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal – cleanliness, smart, assertive, empathetic, balanced, reliable, honest, positive, good nature, good health, able to improve, intelligence, communication ability, smart with smile, attitudes, confident • Educated and literate – has studied at school • Likes children – willingness to work with children, • Speaks English – good level • Looks – good face, good looking, looks clean

Data Reduction from Parent Group Interviews

STEP 2

School 1

What were your reasons for hiring a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affordability • Peer acceptance • Domestic work • Organizational/Practical • Child care • Nature of country • Provide jobs for maid • No extended family • Alleviate pressure
What type of thing does the maid do in the house?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food related • Domestic work • General support • Childcare • Language based jobs • Tasks increase with trust • Provides more quality time with children
What type of thing does your maid do for your children?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plays with them • Engages with them • Food related tasks • Housework • Teaches them • Performs daily routines • Looks after them
What kind of rule/guidelines did you give the maid when she started?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect rules • Maid rules • Practical rules • Safety rules • Dependency rules
What influenced you when you made these rules?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Past Experience • Influences changed over time • Wanting maid to integrate with family • Retaining control/standards • Need for trust • Everyone to be happy • Other expatriates • Children • Benefit of maid
<u>Part II</u> What are the positive aspects of having a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relieves pressure • General support system • Support with children • Practicalities
What are the negatives of having a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instilling different rules • Lack of privacy • Children's dependency • She is too familiar and opinionated

What qualities do you look for when you hire a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal • Experience • Educated and literate • Likes children • First aid knowledge • Speaks English
Did you have a maid in your home country?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No participant had a maid in their own country
Why not?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No peer pressure • Family network present • Too expensive • Peers would not approve • Staff in UK make rules
Would you have one on your return?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No = 2 • Yes = 3

School 2

STEP 2

What were your reasons for hiring a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affordability • Domestic work • Organizational/Practical • Child care • Nature of country • No extended family • Alleviate pressure
What type of thing does the maid do in the house?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food related • Domestic work • General support • Childcare
What type of thing does your maid do for your children?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plays with them • Food related tasks • Housework • Performs daily routines • Loves them • Looks after them
What kind of rule/guidelines did you give the maid when she started?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect rules • Maid rules • Practical rules • Safety rules • Speak English • Dependency rules
What are the positive aspects of having a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relieves pressure • General support system • Support with children • Practicalities
What are the negatives of having a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children's dependency • Rules/Concern about when I am not there • Passive roles for family
What qualities do you look for when you hire a maid?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal • Educated and literate • Likes children • Speaks English • Good looks

Quantitative Data – Tally of responses from interviews documented on post-its

School 1 in black

School 2 in red

Some questions were not asked of School 2 parents due to time constraints

What were your reasons for hiring a maid?				
Housework 8 5		Back up/Replaces extended family 5 3	Unwritten rules/Peer pressure/Country expectations 5	Commitment to extended family 1
Look after house/pets in holidays 2		Convenience 2	Affordability 2 2	Lack of community spirit 2
Location/set up of country 1 1		Childcare 2 4	Work commitments 5 1	Organisation at home 1
School pick up 1		Employment for maids 1	Reasons change with age of children 1	Makes life easier 1
To teach child's own language 1		To have more quality time with children 1 1		

What type of thing does your maid do in the home?				
Housework 14 7		Look after children 13 5	It changes depending on trust 1	Look after house/pets during holidays 3
Cooking 5 2		Help the children 2	Does homework with children 2	Language teacher 2
Practical reasons – if I am sick for e.g. 4 2		Free me from housework – more time with children 1	Provides support system 1	Keeps me updated on school issues 1

What type of thing does your maid do for your children?					
Housework – eg washes/irons their clothes 3 3		Plays games with them/engages them 14 4		Tidies up after them 1 3	Gets them ready in the morning 6
Gives them special treats 2		Makes/packs school lunch 2		Waits for them to come home from school/ collects them from school 3 5	Carries their bags 1
Cooks meals 4 5		Helps them learn 2		Bathes them 3	Babysits 5 3
Reads to them 2 1		Helps with homework 1		Takes to park 1	Dressing skills 2 1
Interacts with them 1		Feeds baby 1		Comforts baby 1	Loves them 1

What kind of rules or guidelines did you give your maid when she started?				
Given as and when 1		No need for rules eg. she is smart 1	Safety rules eg. Do not give medicine 2 4	Speak English 1 1
No maid's friends/visitors in house 4 1		Food rules for children eg. No eating between meals 3 2	No boyfriends interacting with children 1	Security rules 3
Times/ Timekeeping 2 1		Job description 1 2	Don't go in the pool 1	Housework rules 4 2
Expectations of children's behaviour 2 3		Maid's personal hygiene 2 3	Maid's behaviour towards family 2 2	Guidelines for child care 3 1
No smacking/shouting at children 1 2		No tittle-tattle with other maids 1	Knock before you enter 1	Child independence rules 4 1
Do not use phone 1		Children come first not housework 1	Maid needs to take breaks 1	No boyfriends 1 1

What influenced you?					
*School 1 only					
Children 1		Maid's integration with family 2		Everyone being happy 2	Mistakes from past 2
Maid's potential 1		Retaining control of my child 1		Retaining my standard 1	Help expand maid's experience 1
Recommendations of friends 2		Nature of country 1		Children's safety 2	Need for trust 1
Children's behaviour 1		From my own experience with household duties 2		Children's routine 1	Clarity 1
Peace of mind when I am not there 1					

What are the positive aspects of having a maid?					
Support when needed 1 2		Calming influence 1 1		Maintaining clean house/housework 1 4	Provides quality time for me to spend with family 4 5
Helps with learning about other cultures/languages 1 1		Can leave children with her 3 4		Security if workers are in the house 1	I can develop my career 1
I can relax 1					

What about the negative?				
Privacy issues 4		Not listening to guidelines/rules 1	Instils religious beliefs 1	Sides with children/gives in to children's demands 2
Picks up after children/does too much for them 1 1		Maid is too familiar/opinionated 1	Worry about what they are doing after hours – sponsorship laws/when I am not there 2	Worry about safety issues 2
Does she treat children with respect? 1		Children's food issues 1	Do I spend enough time with the children? 1	Different accent to the children 1

What Qualities do you look for when you hire a maid?				
Experience 3		Cleanliness 2 4	Honesty/integrity/ Trustworthy 6 1	Speaks English 3 3
Initiative 2		Good rapport/Likes children 4 1	First aid knowledge 1	Reliability 2 1
Friendliness/ Good communication 2 2		Good references 1 1	Approachability 1	Good quality work, outcome /able to improve 1
Maturity 1		Attitude and demeanour 1	Happy/Positive 2 1	Educated 2
Good looking 2		Intelligence 1	Good health 1	Confidence 1

*School 1 only	
Did you have a maid in your home country?	
No participants had a maid in their home countries.	
Why not?	Affordability 2 Staff expectations 1 Peers' perspective of having a maid 1 Family network at home 1 They make the rules at home! 1

*School 1 only	
Would you have one on your return?	
Yes – if affordable Yes – I have changed my values since being overseas – more time for me Yes – If I can afford one – more time for family No – I have a support network at home No - climate is different – no dust or heat – less work; I don't like maid being role model for children	

Appendix O

Sample of Completed Task Record:

School 1

Maid

Teacher ✓

Code: Child: Ch 2

Adult: T2

Age of child: 4.10 years

Nationality: Irish/Dutch

Nationality of adult: English

Date: 27th February 2008

Length of time for task: 13 mins

Step	Subtask 1	Subtask 2	Subtask 3
1	CI	CI	CI
2	CI	CI	CI
3	CI	CI	CI
4	CI	CI	CI
5	CI	CI	CI
6	CIR	CIR	CI
7	CIR	CI	CI
8	CIR	CIR	CI
9	CIR	CIR	CI
10	CIR	CIR	CI
11	CIR	CI	CI
12	CI	CIR	CIR
13	CI	CI	CIR
14	CI	CIR	CIR
15	CIR	CIR	CIR
16	CI	CIR	CIR

Appendix O continued

T2 used a lot of questioning beforehand. I asked the teacher to sit on the 1 chair and let the child stand so that she would be able to see. The teacher explained this to the child. She told the child that I wanted them to copy the model.

T: Can you see these pieces? T pointed to model.

T: What animals can you see? Child named some. What else? Child named them.

T: Are they the same size? Ch: No

T: Are they the same colour? Ch: No

T: What is inside the fence? T pointed at model. Child answers

T: What is inside the fence? T pointed at model. Child answers

T: Can you see anything that will help us make a model like this?

Child points to pile of animals.

T: What are these bits for? Do you think that we can make the same?

Ch: Yes

Child started very well – no problems. She got stuck with the fences. She mixed them up.

When they had finished T asked if there was anything else that they needed to do.

T: Look at both the models – do we need to change anything? Look at the other one. What do you think might happen with these cows?

Child was really thinking. She moved 3rd piece of fencing to cows

T: Do we need to move anything else? Look at model.

T: Are these pigs going to run away?

Ch: Yes

T: Do you need to move anything then?

Child thinks. Child moves fences to correct position.

T: Shall we check? Is it the same?

Ch: Yes

Questions for teacher:

What do you think the task was about?

To see whether or not she could copy without help – to select the things she needed and put them in the right place - positioning

What were you doing?

To offer questions – to see really if she responds to questions and ask her to check what she has done - open ended questions and self correction.

How do you think you taught the child?

Same as above really – by asking questions and getting her to think about what she was asked to do

Appendix O continued

What do you think the child gained from the task?

Because she completed it by herself she was pleased with herself and OK about correcting what she had done. She was able to take risks and modify - to make it better.

Questions for the child:

What did you do?

To change things by looking at model

What did you learn when you were doing the task?

No response to this question

Appendix P

Samples of Completed Classroom Observation Sheet

(I completed one for each child observed)

Observation Sheet Child -M

School 1

Date: 6th December 2007

Length of observation: 30 mins for group of 3 children

Class: G2

Time: 10:15am

Teacher: 2

child requests/receives help (✓) child does things without help (x)
child gives up trying (!)

Child: G2C (-M)

Age: 4.4

Nationality: French

Activity/lesson: Oral, free choice activities

Female

- x Listened intently to teacher – did not need prompting
- x could say what her favourite activity was without requiring prompting
- ✓ asked teacher for help to get her favourite thing – her peer helped her and she got the tray out with him
- x got out cars to go in the container
- x put mat into container
- x worked well with another child to set up the large container and mat with cars
- x played well and interacted with G2D – good quality ‘small world’ play language used
- x lots of ideas without adult help
- x went independently to playdough table
- x used cutters and other utensils without help
- x constant interaction with two of her peers
- x went to fetch other apparatus to use in playdough and got some for her friends also
- x made a cake and talked about it
- x set up a birthday party and sang happy birthday
- x made letter sounds and talked about them with friend

Observation Sheet **Child +M**

School 1

Date: 6th December 2007

Length of observation: 30 mins for group of 3 children

Class: G2

Time: 10:15am

Teacher: 2

child requests/receives help (✓) child does things without help (x)
child gives up trying (!)

Child: G2B (+M)

Age: 4.4

Nationality: Sri Lankan

Activity/Lesson: Oral, free choice activities

Male

Looked around room as teacher was talking to children

! teacher talked to children about different activities they could have that day, asked them their favourite – he did not raise hand – looked around room

! had difficulty naming his favourite activity – was continuously prompted by teacher

✓ needed help to explain what he wanted to do

✓ needed prompting to get construction out

✓ eventually knew name but was prompted continuously by teacher

was joined by another child – took a while to interact verbally or physically with peer

x made simple construction from Mobilo – a ‘snake’ – used same pieces repeatedly – his

peers used a selection of pieces

other child left; the observed child talked to himself repeating same words

stayed by himself opening and closing the ‘snake’

other child returned

x the observed child told peer he had made a snake

opened and closed snake for about 10 mins – used same pieces again

interaction - sparse and limited

✓ needed prompting to change activity

when he changed to train track he used set up previously set by other children – changed nothing

✓ other child told him what to do and where to put trains

✓ child continuously acted upon instructions from peers

Appendix Q

Reducing the Classroom Observation Data:

STEP 1

School 1 Class: G1 children (age 3-4 years old)

+M	-M
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Required help/prompting to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Find resources • Solve tasks • Work constructively • Select resources • Move to different centre • Feel re-assured • Behave cooperatively • Direction -Dependent upon adult for basic skills and functioning -Wandered aimlessly -Did not use selection of previously acquired skills -Little interaction -Rarely initiated interaction -Needed prompting to do anything constructive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Functioned independently e.g. got apron, put it on, washed apparatus -Selected own resources Shared resources – offered them to others -Moved from centre to centre after completion -Used variety of resources for same activity e.g. sponges, different coloured paint -Saw to own hygiene needs – no prompting -Initiated interaction -Interacted with others -Discussed activity -Demonstrated previously acquired skills
<p><i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour for these children.</p> <p>One child +M is very animated in role play area – kitchen – his maid is also the cook; he would eat more snack at school if fed.</p>	<p><i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour for these children.</p>

Class: G2 children (age 4-5 years old)

+M	-M
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Does not listen to instructions – needed them continuously reinforced -Needs constant adult/peer prompting -Abandons task when not able to cope -Needed prompting to move on to centres -Actions show little independent thinking -Moved aimlessly in class -Little interaction with others -Did not initiate interaction -Did not select resources -Did not add pieces to models previously made by others e.g. construction/train track -Talk about what she/he was doing rarely happened 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Good listening skills – knew what to do when class was dispersed into groups -Able to select resources independently -Initiated interaction Interacted with others -Moved around centres without prompting -Talked continuously about own idea/creations/what he or she was doing -Used previously acquired skills and knowledge -Shared apparatus out -Worked in groups or pairs
<p><i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour for these children.</p> <p>One child +M constantly copies others – teacher surprised she raised hand to answer question; never interacts. Other +M will not do things unless directions given individually. Waits for peers to set things up.</p>	<p><i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour for these children.</p> <p>Teacher says children –M are very independent.</p>

Appendix Q continued

Class: Z1 children (age 5-6 years old)

+M	-M
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Could not follow routine calming exercises -No verbal/physical interaction with others -Eventually dressed himself – asked for help -Could use variety of paints -Did try to answer questions but gave up when not picked 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Followed routine calming exercises/instructions -Constantly offered contributions to discussions -Persevered with things -Animated and enthusiastic -Interacted with others -Knew what to do when class dispersed into groups -Good imaginative talk without adult prompt -Used previously acquired skills -Stayed on task without prompting
<p><i>Teacher feedback:</i> Mostly typical behaviour, but one child +M usually displays less independent behaviour. Maid never speaks to him when she collects him. Teacher feels could be deeper problem with child. Child 2 +M has difficulty following any instructions – parents work – always with maid.</p> <p>One child +M constantly copies others – teacher surprised she raised hand to answer question; never interacts. Other +M will not do things unless directions given individually. Waits for peers to set things up.</p>	<p><i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour for these children.</p>

Class: Z2 children (age 6-7 years old)

+M	-M
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Constantly copied work of others -Difficulty staying on task -No verbal interaction – poked and flicked others -Had difficulty functioning without help -Needed adult prompt/help -Difficulty finding apparatus in class -Did demonstrate the use of some previously acquired skills -Little sense of purpose or aim 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Interacted with peers or adults -Answered teacher questions -Offered lots of ideas -Interacted well with others -Animated -Helped peers – offered help -Stayed on task -Sense of purpose
<p><i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour</p> <p>1 child +M always need adult interaction – but is a very good reader and should be able to get on with task.</p>	<p><i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour</p> <p>1 child -M has learning support and the other speaks English as a second language.</p>

Appendix Q continued

School 2

Class: Q1 children (age 3-4 years old)

+M	-M
-Required help/prompting to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solve tasks • Use resources appropriately • Work constructively • Move to different centre • For direction -Wandered aimlessly -Little sense of purpose to anything that was done -Nothing productive taking place -Did not use selection of previously acquired skills -Little interaction -Rarely initiated interaction -Needed prompting to do anything constructive	No children –M for this age group
<i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour – verbal feedback.	

Class: Q2 children (age 4-5 years old)

+M	-M
-Unsure of what to do/was expected -Signalled instead of verbal interaction -Needed prompting to move on to centres -Unaware of expectations or where group were -Needed adult prompting to function -Could not use resources appropriately or constructively -Little interaction with others -Needed help to complete and work on tasks -Needed constant reassurance -Unsure of what to do	-Used resources well -Stayed on task -Performed tasks as expected -Interacted with others -Constantly interacted -Was able to tidy up independently -Needed little adult input -Did things without prompt -Used initiative -Moved to centres without prompting -Used resources constructively and as expected
<i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour – verbal feedback.	<i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour – verbal feedback.

Appendix Q continued

Class: L1 children (age 5-6 years old)

+M	-M
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Not good listening skills -Oblivious to instructions -Needed adult prompting to <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Move centres • Select activity • Stay on task • Complete task -Constantly requested help for simple tasks -Needed constant adult input to function -No idea what to do next after finishing task -Often sat doing nothing and looking around room – not at anything in particular -Needed reassurance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -New exactly what to do when sent to groups -Worked independently -Stayed on task -Performed tasks without constant adult input -Asked for help only when necessary -Could return resources without being told -Able to move around centres and fetch next resources -Obvious sense of purpose when participating in tasks -Interacted well with peers and teachers
<i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour – verbal feedback.	<i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour – verbal feedback.

Class: L2 children (age 6-7 years old)

+M	-M
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Did not listen to instructions -Needed individual instructions -Did not follow instructions -Needed prompting to carry out task -Needed prompting to stay on task -Could not follow rules of game -Varying interaction levels -Needed immediate feedback about work -No purpose to some actions -Needed reassurance 	No children –M for this age group
<i>Teacher feedback:</i> Typical behaviour – verbal feedback; no feedback for the documented observations.	

STEP 2

Recurring themes - School 1

Children +M	Children –M
<p>Patterns of Functioning</p> <p>-Needs help to</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Find resources • Select resources • Use resources appropriately • Solve tasks • Stay on task • Work constructively • Move to different centres • Feel re-assured • Behave cooperatively • Follow instructions 	<p>Patterns of Functioning</p> <p>- Functions independently</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Follows instructions • Can find resources • Selects resources • Uses resources appropriately and independently • Returns resources • Uses variety of resources • Shows initiative • Moves centres without help • Stays on task • Completes task • Works cooperatively
<p>-Interaction Patterns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not initiate interaction • Interaction is sparse • Parallel play • Lone behaviour 	<p>-Interaction Patterns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiates interaction • Interacts with others • Works in group/pairs
<p>-Sense of Purpose</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wanders aimlessly • Sits and does nothing • Abandons task • Little 'productive' happening 	<p>-Sense of purpose</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functions with sense of purpose • Always busy • Uses initiative
<p>-Previously acquired skills and knowledge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulty using previously acquired skills and knowledge • Limited variety of skills used 	<p>-Previously acquired skills and knowledge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses previously acquired knowledge and skills

Recurring themes - School 2

Children +M	Children –M
<p>Patterns of Functioning</p> <p>-Needs help to</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Find resources • Select resources • Use resources appropriately • Solve tasks • Stay on task • Work constructively • Move to different centres • Feel re-assured • For direction • Follow instructions 	<p>Patterns of Functioning</p> <p>- Functions independently</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Follows instructions • Can find resources • Selects resources • Returns resources • Uses variety of resources appropriately and independently • Shows initiative • Moves centres without help • Stays on task • Completes task • Works cooperatively • Requested help when absolutely necessary
<p>-Interaction Patterns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not/rarely initiate interaction • Interaction is sparse • Signalled instead of communicating verbally 	<p>-Interaction Patterns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiates interaction • Interacts with others • Works in group/pairs
<p>-Sense of Purpose</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wanders aimlessly • Sits and does nothing • Abandons task • Little awareness of purpose • Little 'productive' happening 	<p>-Sense of purpose</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functions with sense of purpose • Always busy • Uses initiative
<p>-Previously acquired skills and knowledge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulty using previously acquired skills and knowledge • Limited variety of skills used • Needed constant instructions – did not listen well 	<p>-Previously acquired skills and knowledge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uses previously acquired knowledge and skills

Appendix R

Details of Pearson's Chi-square Test

1. Comparison of children -Maid and Children +Maid: areas of Emotional/Social versus Cognitive/Motivation

Data were analyzed as follows:

- There were two variables:

- Response level (with 4 levels: Always, Usually, Sometimes, Never)
- Maid status (+Maid and -Maid)

- Emotional and pro-social areas were combined; cognitive and motivation areas were combined.

- The frequency *Always/Usually* were combined and regarded as positive.

- The frequency *Sometimes/Never* were combined and regarded as negative.

- Frequency variable of children +Maid were compared against children -Maid.

Chi-square was considered the appropriate analysis and the details it provided were:

- Cross tabulation to enable comparison of responses at all levels.
- Pearson's chi square test
- Gamma measure of association to indicate the strength of the relationship

The results show the cross tabulation between the frequency level and children in +Maid group and -Maid group.

Emotional and Pro-social - cross tabulation:-

			Maid Status		Total
			+Maids	-Maids	
Response Level	Always	Count	13	41	54
		Expected Count	32	22	54
		% within Maid Status	8.1%	37.3%	20%
	Usually	Count	51	48	99
		Expected Count	58.7	40.3	99
		% within Maid Status	31.9%	43.6%	36.7%
	Sometimes	Count	65	20	85
		Expected Count	50.4	34.6	85
		% within Maid Status	40.6%	18.2%	31.5%
	Never	Count	31	1	32
		Expected Count	19	13	32
		% within Maid Status	19.4%	.9%	11.9%
Total	Count	160	110	270	
	Expected Count	160	110	270	
	% within Maid Status	100%	100%	100%	

Appendix R continued

Cross tabulation indicates that in the areas of emotional/pro-social, the +*Maid* group achieved positive response 40% of the time compared to –*Maid* group which was 80.9% of the time.

Emotional and Pro-social - chi square test:-

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2 sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	59.333	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	66.575	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	58.828	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	270		

Conclusion: As p is less than 0.05, the relationship between the behaviour pattern and whether or not the child has a maid is significant and the results are unlikely to be due to chance, therefore, the response level and whether or not the child has a maid could be considered as being related:

$$\chi^2(3) = 59.33, p < .05.$$

Emotional and Pro-social - gamma measure:-

	Value	Asymp. Std. Error	Approx. T	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal Gamma	-.694	.059	-9.466	.000
N of Valid Cases	270			

Therefore there appears to be a strong negative relationship between response level and maid status.

Cognitive and Motivation - cross tabulation:-

			Maid Status		
			+Maids	-Maids	Total
Response Level	Always	Count	8	60	68
		Expected Count	40.3	27.7	68
		% within Maid Status	4.2%	45.5%	21.0%
	Usually	Count	52	52	104
		Expected Count	61.6	42.4	104
		% within Maid Status	27.1%	39.4%	32.1%
	Sometimes	Count	89	19	108
		Expected Count	64.	44.	108.
		% within Maid Status	46.4%	14.4%	33.3%
	Never	Count	43	1	44
		Expected Count	26.1	17.9	44
		% within Maid Status	22.4%	.8%	13.6%
Total		Count	192	132	324
		Expected Count	192	132	324
		% within Maid Status	100%	100%	100%

Cross tabulation indicates that in the cognitive/motivation areas, the +*Maid* group achieved positive response 31.3% of the time compared to –*Maid* group which was 84.9% of the time.

Therefore the +Maid group did slightly better in the emotional/pro-social areas.

Cognitive and Motivation - chi square test:-

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	118.167	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	134.529	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	113.810	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	324		

Conclusion: As p is less than 0.05, the relationship between the behaviour pattern and whether or not the child has a maid is significant, and the results are unlikely to be due to chance, therefore, the response level and whether or not the child has a maid could be considered as being related:

$$\chi^2 (3) = 118.17, p < .05.$$

Appendix R continued

Cognitive and Motivation – gamma measure:-

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error	Approx. T	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Gamma	-.833	.037	-15.261	.000
N of Valid Cases		324			

Therefore there appears to be a strong negative relationship between response level and maid status.

Summary of Chi-square analysis of + *Maid* and – *Maid* groups in combined areas:

Area	Pearson Chi-square	Sig. Value	Gamma Measure	Significance
Emotional/Pro-social	59.333	0.000	-0.69	Yes
Cognitive/Motivation	118.167	0.000	-0.83	Yes

Thus, the table indicates that compared to children –*Maids*, children +*Maids* did slightly better in the areas of emotional/social than in cognitive/motivation areas.

Appendix S

Samples of Responses: Teacher Survey

How can international schools alleviate or cater for a situation where children are perceived to display characteristics of over reliance upon maids?

JF:

Perhaps international schools, who realise that over dependence on maids in their setting is problematic, **should include guidance in their information packs for their helpers/parents and even list a few skills that the school would 'like' children to have prior to joining (F1) e.g. put on shoes and socks, dressing themselves, carrying own bags etc. This should encourage communication between parent and helper and hopefully the child will then be encouraged to develop these skills for himself.** The problem could be highlighted at orientation days and helpers could be invited or even given a separate session to explain the role that the school sees they should have in the child's development. This would then become a separate relationship between the school/helper/child and **should therefore not interfere with the helper/child/parent relationship.** This could even be developed so that the school offers short courses to helpers in childcare.

CF

In my experience the presence of a maid or other support worker (driver, personal security guard home tutor, etc) appears to slow down the rate at which a child develops independent organizational skills. The "maid-child" is more prone to forget his/her belongings, manage his/her time efficiently and so on. Such rudimentary independence is naturally occurring in infant children with or without maids. Infants' mothers and fathers play a more prominent role in their child's day to day personal organization.

The way to support an older "maid-child" therefore is similar to the way an infant teacher may manage his/her class of younger children. For example: **check lists, assigning students specific roles (pencil monitor, cleaning monitor, class-library monitor), peer pressure in the form of group tasks** "*first table to be ready with a tidy table stood behind their chair will be first in line for lunch*". And of course the **teachers and teaching assistants not doing unnecessary organizational tasks which the maid does at home** yet still insisting standards are maintained. **Sanctions occur if the standards are not maintained, positive reinforcement and restitution** just like in the infant classroom all help.

RS

Quick thoughts on problem. **Could schools hold training programmes for parents and maids?**The XXX Council are introducing courses here apparently for such a thing which will be held at The College of X.

SS

Your topic is very interesting, something over which I have shared many conversations (or even arguments) with my students. When I do duty in the cafeteria, students refuse to clear up their trays and leave it at the table and their best argument is that they would 'never' have to do it at home/in life as they have their maids to do it! Grade 7 students who live across the street come with their maids carrying their bags to school and so on. I even have students who refuse to do Ms Excel and Ms Word in the Computer class; they argue that their secretaries would do it for them.

I guess, **what needs to be enforced here is the fact that rules of education in school or the very underpinning principle of 'education' is beyond any culture, and 'home' rules!**

Appendix S continued

Surprisingly these **students who go along on trips for worthy causes do have a sort of 'awakening'**; like **one team who went to Kenya to visit an orphanage was so humbled by the experience that they did come back 'turned over a new leaf'**. I guess rather than **'teaching' these values in classrooms, such 'real-life' experiences are far more valuable** and they can't definitely be taking along their **'maids' to Kenya!!**

SG

Hope my comments are helpful, **from day one in my class we encourage the children to be completely independent and they manage their daily belongings, snack boxes, checking what they need to take home daily from their cubby hole. We do not do it for them from day one** and nor do I allow my assistant to do so. **If things are left behind and parents chase it up we emphasise how it is the child's responsibility.** During swimming time, I have noticed which children are maid dependent and they stand out a mile away. **They stand there with no clue how to change their own clothes, but we tell them they have to do it otherwise they will miss their swimming time** so that encourages them to try and hurry and its amazing how quick they become. The only issues are that obviously they go home and fall back in the same mode. **In our reports we reflect on how independent they are and how they manage themselves and their belongings** and even when they eat they are fully independent in **eating their snack, throwing their garbage and then tidying up.** I don't do anything extraordinary but what we do works quite well. The children I teach are 5-6 year olds.

AS

OK for me, positive influences were:

1. **Banning the maid from coming into school during the day** - in some cases parents wanted nannies to come into school to feed the children (in one case, to bring the bottled milk for a children in Year 1).
2. **Peer pressure**, especially from Western kids. The children (Yr3 - Yr4), didn't like it when other kids watched them needing help getting dressed or undressed. They didn't want to be seen as being different in front of teachers or their peers, so made more of an effort to dress themselves.
3. **Expectations of teachers - teachers who made it clear to the children that they were expected to dress themselves** and that no-one was going to do this for them.
4. I think **teachers have to make parents aware that these are the expectations too so that there is some continuity in terms of what is going on in school** and that at least in school, the kids have to make more of an effort. **This point also had to be made clear to TAs/parents** if parents try to 'persuade' TAs to take over the role of dressing/undressing/feeding, etc the kids.
5. For Egyptian kids, having at least **1 toilet (normally the staff one), with the hose thing, so that if they can clean themselves.** For some 'balady' kids they didn't use toilet paper and in one case (A, Year 4), insisted he needed to go home, he needed his mum. I sent him to X, the nurse, who was not sympathetic and sent him to the staff loo.
6. **There needs to be school-wide consistency in expectations and new staff need to be made aware of some of the backgrounds that these kids come from and some of the problems they may have.** I know for me with X, I didn't understand why he needed to go home and needed his mum when there was nothing physically wrong with him. I also think if one teacher allows a maid in to dress/undress or feed a kid, it opens the flood gates for all of them.

RB

A few thoughts below...Interestingly our new Senior Teacher, recently re-located from UK, has mentioned that she feels the pupils here are over reliant on adult input and lacking initiative/ independent thinking skills... despite our best efforts!

Appendix S continued

Explicit expectations to parents/ carers are necessary, from Foundation One, regarding morning routines including child putting hat in tray, lunchbox on shelf, choosing morning activity.

Induction meetings for parents must mention this expectation and make clear to parents that staff will have a quiet word with them/ house maids if children themselves are not carrying out these tasks independently.

Follow through from all staff is required.

Positions of responsibility must be given to the children, from Foundation one, including at this early stage... line leaders with responsibility for pouring water into 22 cups twice per session, checking classroom areas at tidy up times, taking register to designated area etc

Ensuring buy-in from all staff on ...' If you can train a child to do that.... Why are you doing it?'

This includes tidying book corners, wiping tables after snack, tidying resources, wiping noses, etc.

Time must be given to children to carry out tasks independently – some children will need support emotionally and physically, particularly if over-reliance on help is embedded. Investing the time is so worth the effort – all children can dress themselves independently etc. once the skills are in place.

To sum-up!

- **Educate the parents; clear, realistic expectations of children from F1 and becoming increasingly challenging as pupils progress through the school**
- **Follow through where advice is not followed by parents**
- **Support the pupils with time and skill development**
- **Set high expectations of pupils, parents and carers... and staff**
- **Ensure all staff are on board with this; a child will quickly find the adult who will do it for them!**
- **Track progress of individuals who struggle with the notion of being independent; handover notes, open dialogue.**
- **Ensure all teachers are aware of levels and expectations of teachers in the previous year, so no Year Group allows independence to stagnate or regress**
- **Open ended tasks in all areas of the curriculum planned on regular basis to ensure that pupils are allowed scope to develop their ideas on how to present, content etc.**

Good luck with this – very interesting stuff.